

ABYSSINIA:
ITS PAST, PRESENT, AND PROBABLE FUTURE.

*With Portraits, from Photographs, of the
Rev. H. A. Stern, and Captain C. D. Cameron.*

BY THE
REV. DR. MARGOLIOUTH.

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ABYSSINIA:

ITS PAST, PRESENT, AND PROBABLE FUTURE.

A LECTURE,

WITH NOTES AND APPENDICES,



BY THE

REV. M. MARGOLIOUTH, LL.D.

&c., &c., &c.

Curate of St. Paul's, Dalston.

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TO THE
REV. WILLIAM STONE, M.A.,

Incumbent of St. Paul's, Dalston.

—:o:—

MY DEAR MR. STONE,

You have kindly allowed me to inscribe the following little work to you. I am very thankful for the permission, as it affords me an opportunity to record, in a permanent form, my sense of heartfelt gratitude and reverential affection towards you; which I cannot do by word of mouth.

It is now verging on two years since I began my duties as Curate of this District Parish. Our relation, as Incumbent and Curate, has hitherto proved a very happy one. Our views—whether on Scripture truths, or on ministerial and parochial work—are in perfect concord and harmony.

You, as Incumbent of this District Parish, are very anxious for the eternal welfare of the souls committed to your spiritual charge; in which solicitude I, as Curate, most cordially and ardently sympathise.

I am thankful to find that the monthly Missionary Lectures, which we have recently organised, and of which the substance of the following was the inaugural one, have stirred up, in many a member of our people, a fervent interest in the work of Christian missions, and therefore in the promotion of

our adorable Redeemer's Kingdom. I venture to look upon this humble Lecture, as the grain of mustard seed of a coming mighty tree, which shall be hereafter associated, by means of this publication, with the name of him who planted it, and of him who watered it—to which may God grant an abundant increase.

Personally, I desire to avail myself of this opportunity to express my sense of gratitude for the many and great acts of kindness which I have experienced at your hands, and at the hands of those belonging to you. You and yours have uniformly treated me as if I had been one of your family. I appreciate the generous treatment most profoundly.

With your kind permission, therefore, I inscribe and dedicate, with unfeigned pleasure, this *brochure* to you, as a small evidence of the grateful sentiments which I feel in my heart, but which I lack the power to give utterance to by word of mouth.

Praying most fervently that the same Christian brotherly love, which has hitherto cemented and knit us together, may continue amongst us, and amongst those committed to our spiritual charge and care,

I remain,

My Dear Mr. STONE,

With reverential affection and esteem,

Your's most truly,

M. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A., LL.D. &c.

Curate of St. Paul's, Dalston.

MARCH, 1866.

PREFACE.

AT the close of last year, I submitted to the worthy Incumbent of St. Paul's, Dalston, to whom this little work is inscribed, the desirability of organising a series of monthly Missionary Lectures, to be delivered in the new Infant School in his District Parish, with a view to promote an active missionary spirit amongst the people under our spiritual charge. The chief pastor of that District Parish at once entered heart and soul into the proposition.

The substance of this brochure was delivered, as the inaugural lecture of that monthly series, on Friday, October 6th. The *Standard* newspaper gave a friendly notice of that discourse, and I was asked to give it at several other places, with a view to augment the fund, which was then being raised, to enable Dr. Beke to proceed to Abyssinia, and there to exert his friendly mediation with its autocrat for the liberation of the British captives, H. B. Majesty's Consul, and the Missionaries of the "London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews." Having the welfare of the afflicted prisoners much at heart, I complied with the request, in two instances, and delivered the lecture, with some variations, according to circumstances, at Lewes and Reading.

It is gratifying to me to know that I have been the means of doing something towards that work and labour of christian love. Since I delivered the lecture, I received numerous urgent requests to publish it. In deference to the character and position of the requisitionists, I comply with the strong wishes. The publication may be instrumental in promoting greater sympathy, in the mind of the public, for the poor captives, than has yet been evinced. I venture to affirm that the lecture, with the notes and appendices, will be found to furnish the most comprehensive and consecutive account of the painful story of the origin of the imprisonment, and the torture, and the "durance vile" of the captives. Neither the "Foreign Office," nor the Jews' Society have yet published any reliable narrative of the melancholy chapter, in their respective governments.

A great deal is now being said about the refusal of the Committee of the "London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews," to contribute towards Dr. Beke's mission to Abyssinia, the object of which is to try and liberate the imprisoned Missionaries of that venerable Association. Surely the fault-finders can not be aware of the immense sums which that Committee has, of late years, lavished upon a revision of the Hebrew translation of the New Testament, which, like Penelope's web, is still unfinished. Were the circumstance generally known, and understood by the public at large, even the censors might begin to pity the Committee in

their *modus operandi*. What makes the circumstance more pitiable is the certainty that, the enormous outlay will prove a dead loss, as regards "promoting Christianity amongst the Jews," by means of that revision. The specimen of the new version, the Four Gospels, which has been published, has been condemned—with the exception of the tonic accents—by every respectable and competent Hebrew scholar, at home and abroad. If report speaks true, the reviser himself begins to lose confidence in his work, inasmuch as the electro-stereo plates prepared for printing the revised translation, are under the constant process of alteration.

As regards my own view of the subject—for which I am constantly asked by numerous correspondents in England and on the Continent—it may be gathered from the following extracts, from two of the many letters which I had occasion to write about it. The first is from a letter to the celebrated Dr. Delitzsch, professor of Theology, in the University of Erlangen. That eminent scholar was so disappointed at the revision in question, that he has undertaken a new translation of his own, on which he is now engaged. It is in allusion to that undertaking that the following has reference:—

"I should very much like to see a specimen of the work, I feel a very great interest in such an undertaking. To be candid, however, I think the responsibility too great for a couple of individuals—be they ever such eminent scholars—to bring out such a work as an authorized Hebrew version of

the New Testament. I am of opinion that the LXX. should supply us with a wholesome hint, touching such an enterprise. I should venture to suggest that the work be undertaken by a conference of *bona fide* Hebrew scholars, who understand the sacred tongue, not only to the extent of its etymology, but to the extent of the whole range of Hebrew literature, ancient as well as modern."

The second extract is from a letter, which I had occasion to address to the Rev. Alex. Levie, of St. John's, Lewes,* on his submitting to me a copy of a letter which he had already despatched to the said Committee on the subject of the revision:—"I must, in the first place, tell you frankly, that I have, several times, spoken in very high terms of the

* That gentleman has recently published a Pamphlet on the subject of the revision, entitled "An Important Correspondence between the Rev. Alex. Levie, Curate in sole charge of St. John's, Lewes, Sussex, and the Committee of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. With Notes and Appendix." There may be some difference of opinion amongst the interested, and the impartial in this question, as to the tone and style of unpalatable candour, and frankness, which characterises the brochure; but there can be no difference of opinion as to the general correctness of the charges made by Mr. Levie. I take this opportunity to repudiate, in the most unequivocal terms, the statement, made by certain parties who smart under the Critic's castigation, that Mr. Levie wrote his Pamphlet under my direction. The statement is made in defiance of truth, and in violation of the 9th Commandment. The principal party concerned ought to know that I have in my hand evidence, most fatal to his reputation as a Hebrew scholar, which proves him to be the last man to have had anything to do with a work of the kind! Can he not perceive that if I had anything to do with the Pamphlet that that evidence would have formed part of it! I cannot help regretting that Mr. Levie should have deemed my letter to him, of "August 3, 1865,"—from which an extract is given above—too lengthy for publication in his brochure, since he was about it. The strictures contained in that letter would convince the most uncharitable detractors, of my conscientiousness and impartiality in the matter.

new Hebrew version of the Gospel according to St. Matthew. The intoning accents, so well described in Hebrew גנינות ושעמים, gave to my ear such a melodious charm, as to make me overlook the text. I revelled in the very lovely sound which they produced, and neglected to study the sense which the text produced. The tonic accents had the same effect upon my ear as some of Mendelssohn's *Lieder ohne Worte*. They produced the same effect upon many a learned Jew, without the slightest reference, I can now see, to the merits of the text of the new version. I am not ashamed to own, that your strictures have dissipated the illusive spell, which the accents have cast over my mind, touching the soundness of the new version. I admit that the last effort, in revising the Hebrew version of the New Testament, is not likely to prove so great a success, as I had ventured to hope."

I thought it proper, to enter into the above particulars, as they seem to my mind, to afford a probable solution to the vexed question:—"How came the Committee of the 'London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews,' to withhold a helping hand from Dr. Beke's mission, which was undertaken for the express purpose of rescuing their Missionaries from imprisonment and captivity?"

I venture respectfully to invite the particular attention of Biblical Critics and Scholars, to the observations—in the introductory part of the lecture, and Appendix A,—with regard to the right meaning of

Isaiah xviii, 1. The time has fully come, that they, who take upon themselves the solemn and responsible office of public interpreters of the word of God, strive to attain to a *perfect* knowledge of the original of the Old Testament, so that they may be in a position to prove themselves workmen that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of Truth. The diligent student of the original of that word of Truth, with scientific criticism, obtains, day by day, fresh evidence that science, rightly so named, instead of contradicting or opposing revelation, only ministers proof to its divine origin and infallibility. On the other hand, a thorough knowledge of the original Scriptures dissipates the superstitious spell that theories are necessarily sound, because they were long maintained by certain commentators and expositors; and opinions indisputably well founded, because they have been espoused by certain masters, pastors, and teachers.

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ABYSSINIA.

ABYSSINIA:

ITS PAST, PRESENT, AND PROBABLE FUTURE.

A LECTURE.

THREE conditions are generally required to make a Lecture interesting:—A telling subject; an intelligent audience; and an efficient lecturer. Two of these conditions, are indispensable, namely, a telling subject, and an intelligent audience. If such be the case, as undoubtedly it is with the subject and audience before me, the latter will soon apprehend the intrinsic value of the former—no matter whether the lecturer be an efficient one or not. I own, that, under present circumstances, a more efficient lecturer than the one before you, might have been found to treat this, at present, most thrilling subject.

As it is, I must bespeak your indulgence for treating the subject in my own way. I accord to political magnates the right of treating ecclesiastical

matters, from their point of view; I venture to hope therefore, that I, a humble Ecclesiastic, may be borne with, if I treat certain political matters from my point of view.

ABYSSINIA.—Though as a country, of considerable antiquity in the world's annals,—is, as a term of comparatively recent coinage, in the history of nomenclature. It has been known to the sacred writers as Cush, or Ethiopia; Sheba, or Saba. The natives call their land Abesh, or aspirated Habesh, which has been spun out by Western Philologists, into Abyssinia. This Abesh, or Habesh, I consider the Ethiopic reading of the Hebrew word שְׁבָא Sheba—perhaps, more properly, the Hebrew reading of the Ethiopic word Abesh.—When I tell you, that the Hebrew language reads from right to left, and the Ethiopic the reverse way, you will at once perceive what I mean. Write down the syllables *A-* or *Ha-Besh*, from left to right, as you do when you write English, then read them from right to left, as the Hebrews do, and you have Abesh, or Habesh, turned into Sheba.*

That country was evidently known in Palestine in the days of Solomon, by the circumstance of the

*The Author is not unacquainted with the fanciful derivation which some eccentric Critics have given for the name. Habesh, say they, was a name first given to the country by the Arabs and Portuguese; the word, Ha-bosh, signifying in the language of the former *mixture*, or *confusion*. A tolerable knowledge of the annals and literature of Abyssinia, would have saved those Critics from their blunder. Curious enough, modern Abyssinians cling to the name which the Greeks, during their ascendancy at Alexandria have given to it, viz.: Ethiopia, from Αἰθίοψ, a man burnt by the sun i. e. dark of colour.

visit which the immortalised Queen of Sheba paid to Jerusalem, during the reign of the sage King of Israel. This item of my lecture will be treated presently somewhat at length.

Abyssinia was also known, to the Hebrews, as "the land beyond the rivers of Ethiopia." Thus Isaiah apostrophised it:—

"Ho! Land of the winged Tsaltsal,
Which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia!"

Our translators, who have too frequently, and too implicitly, followed ancient uncritical paraphrasts, have adopted a certain ancient rendering of the original words, of the first clause of Isaiah xviii. 1., namely, "the land shadowing with wings." Many unripe Biblical expositors and Critics, have laboured to prove that "shadowing with wings" meant "covered with sails;" having taken that for granted, the next step, by a characteristic short cut, was the assumption that "the land shadowing with wings," meant "sea-girt and wooden-walled England." The schools of modern prophets never stop to consider, that supposing the original words are correctly rendered "the land shadowing with wings," and supposing, that the sacred bard used the poetic phrase, to describe a great maritime nation, how can England be extorted from the Prophet's topography, "beyond the rivers of Ethiopia?" The fact is, the first clause of Isaiah xviii, 1, should have been rendered, as I read it to you,

"Ho! Land of the winged TSALTSAL,"

The Tsaltsal, or Tsaltsalya, the Ethiopian term, is an insect, which is indigenous to some parts of Abyssinia, and, at a certain time of the year, is the dread and fear of man and beast. In a former chapter (vii. 18, 19,) the same Prophet, threatened, in the name of the Almighty, to use that insect as a scourge, "And it shall come to pass, in that day, that the Lord shall hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost parts of the rivers of Egypt . . . and they shall come, and shall rest all of them, in the desolate valleys, &c., &c.," The inspired bard had evidently, as was his wont, apostrophised Abyssinia, by its peculiar feature.

"Ho! Land of the winged TSALTSAL,
Which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia."

In other words,

"Ho! Land of that fly
Which is in the uttermost parts of the river of
Egypt."*

No doubt the insect TSETSE, Dr. Livingstone speaks of, belongs to the same species.

I maintain then, that Abyssinia is the burden of the eighteenth chapter of Isaiah. If we glance at its import, as well as at that of other predictions, we see plainly, that Abyssinia has yet to play a very important part, in the drama of the world's history.

But apart from future anticipations, as revealed in this sacred volume, Abyssinia is not an uninteresting theme for a lecture, before an intelligent audience. Many are the important objects, and subjects, with

* See Appendix A.

which the history of that land stands associated. The ancient literature, of that part of the world, possesses peculiar features of attraction. To the scientific philologist, the analysis of the various languages, and different dialects, dead or living, employed in that region, is specially interesting. But I must tear myself, at present, from these alluring considerations.

The geographical boundaries of Abyssinia are hinted at, in Holy Writ. Denouncing judgment against Egypt, the Prophet says: "Behold, therefore, I am against thee, and against thy rivers, and I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from the Tower of Syene, even unto the border of Ethiopia."* Touching the present boundries of that distant country, I may safely endorse, in general outline, those of the most recent and most elaborate Geographical Dictionary,† though they were sketched regardless of the political changes which the present Emperor effected, since he appeared on the Ethiopian stage:—"Its limits have been variously defined by different authorities, hardly any two agreeing as to what these limits precisely are; but they may be generally stated, as extending between lat. 7° 25' and 16° 40' N.; and lon. 35° and 43° 20' E., having Nubia N. & W., the Red Sea, and Strait of *Bab-el-Mandeb* E., and to the S. the unknown countries

* Ezek. xxix. 10.

† Blackie and Sons' "Imperial Gazetteer; A General Dictionary of Geography, Physical, Political, Statistical, and Descriptive." &c.

stretching to the Indian Ocean. The entire length of the kingdom from N. to S. is about 670 miles, its breadth from E. to W., at the broadest part, about 540. The principal divisions of Abyssinia, are called respectively, Dankali, Adel, Tigrè, Amhara, and Shoa."

The natural beauties of that part of the world are, in some respects, unrivalled. Its region of Alpine mountains holds in its bosom the long sought for sources of the Nile. Humboldt has compared Abyssinia, by reason of its altitude to the lofty plains of Quito. The great German Geographer, Carl Ritter, has demonstrated in his erudite work "ERDKUNDE," that the highlands of that country, consist of three terraces, or distinct table lands, rising one above another, and of which the several grades of ascent present themselves in succession, to the traveller, as he advances from the shore of the Red Sea. The first of these is the plain of Baharnegash; the second level is the plain and province of Tigrè, which formerly contained the kingdom of Axum; the third level is High Abyssinia, or the kingdom of Amhara.

The Archæologist may find much in that country to gratify his conjecturing faculty. Its natural history—whether as regards the animal, or the vegetable kingdom—affords much matter for investigation and research to the votaries of that scientific department. But my business, in this lecture, is with the humanity of Abyssinia.

The races which constitute the inhabitants of Abyssinia may be classified as a sort of heptarchy. (1) The Tigrani. (2) The Amharas. (3) The Agows. (4) The Gaffats. (5) The Gongas and Enareans. (6) The Gallas. (7) The Falashas. I put in my list the Tigrani first, and the Falashas last, because these races have much to do with the subject matter of my lecture.

The government of the country was for a long long time monarchical; and the seven races, just named, however they may have differed in other respects, all agreed to swear allegiance to a Negush, or Negoos, King, or Emperor, who could trace his pedigree, in unbroken lineal succession, to the wise King of Israel, even Solomon.

And now, I must ask you to listen to a legend, which no other nation, tongue, or kindred lays claim to; hence it must have for its foundation *prima facie*, *bona fide*, facts, however grotesque the fictitious superstructure may appear. Let me recall to your mind the last race in the heptarchy-list which I have drawn up, I mean the Falashas. The term Falasha is formed from the Ethiopic word Falas, which means *exile*. They, the Falashas, maintain, and their neighbours of yore and of to-day, concur in the strenuous affirmation, that their ancestors first came into Ethiopia, in the reign of Magueda, the renowned Queen of Sheba. Abyssinian legendary—I use the word Abyssinian and Ethiopian as convertible terms, for convenience sake; I know that, strictly speaking,

Abyssinia is only part of Ethiopia—is very rich in descriptions of that Princess; her personal charms, her wit, her wisdom, her piety is the theme of many a song and many a tale.*

It was Queen MAGUEDA who came from the south, Saba, to hear the wisdom of Solomon. Her visit to the court of that sage monarch eventuated in a matrimonial alliance—Solomon was *always* forming matrimonial alliances, judging from the number of his wives. After a considerable residence at Jerusalem, at the Court of Zion, Queen Magueda returned to her own dominions. Not however, without a substantial token and pledge of affection, in the shape of a fine baby-prince, Menilek, by name. She also took with her, on her return to her native country, a large number of Hebrew retainers, representatives of all the tribes of the children of Jacob. Also a priest, Azarias by name, son of the high-priest Zadok; also a copy of the law of Moses. Hence the religions which prevailed in Abyssinia, prior to the introduction of Christianity, were Mosaism and a species of judaized Paganism. The former was tenaciously held by the imported Israelites; the latter by the natives, by way of compromise with their own mythology. I shall presently return to the Hebrew immigrants, or Falashas, as their descendants are called.

*Even the fabled parrot which is said to have brought to Solomon the information about Sheba and its Queen, attained a species of immortality. The legend—which is recorded in the Jewish work called "Targum Sheuee," figured on several mediæval works of art, and seems to have been very popular, both in England and abroad, in olden times.

The natives were charmed with the new Prince, and were immensely pleased with his paternal parentage; hence it was made an unalterable law of Ethiopia, that the ruler of Abyssinia should always be a lineal descendant from Menilek and Solomon. Their line of Kings, from time immemorial, had for their arms a lion passant proper upon a field of gules, with the legend *Mo anbasa am Nizilet Solomo Negade Jude*:—Anglicè, “The lion of the race of Solomon, and tribe of Judah hath conquered.”

The Ethiopians embraced Christianity in an early century after its promulgation. As early as the fourth century the Abyssinians had a translation of the Holy Scriptures, in the Ethiopic language; and THE FAITH appears to have flourished amongst them for several hundred years. It seemed to be proof against the deluge of Mohammedanism, by which other African Churches were submerged and extinguished. The Abyssinian Christian, of this olden time, looked forward, with glowing faith, to the period when Christianity should be the religion of the globe. Amongst the many prophetic legends of that land, there is one to the effect, that when a King of the name of Theodoros shall sit upon the throne of Abyssinia, he shall subjugate all nations to his sway, and then Christianity shall be the creed of the world.*

*Taking Theodoros according to the interpretation thereof, namely, God's Gift, the prophetic legend is simply a truism. The King of Kings, the crowned Redeemer is and will be the gift of God; and when He shall come to take the Kingdom, Christianity will be the creed of the world.

For upwards of three centuries, however—that is, ever since the Ottoman power was permitted to spread its blighting and withering influence over the fairest portions of Asia and Africa—Abyssinia has been subjected to all the calamities and disasters which are the bane of States and Churches. The Turks encroached, step by step, on its sea-board, and ultimately took entire possession of it; thus the usurpers have not only effectually destroyed the commerce of Abyssinia, but have also utterly debarred that land, between two and three centuries, from intercourse and contact with the civilized world. Less time than that has sunk some of the most civilized states (the greatness of whose monarchies is now the theme of a distinguished Professor at Oxford) into utter barbarism.

The heathen Gallas then encroached upon the fertile provinces, or Southern Abyssinia, spreading disaster, devastation, and desolation wherever they moved. Intestine wars and anarchy became the plague of Ethiopia; and the leprosy of debasement and degradation, the characteristic of the Ethiopians. The frightful hurricane swept down, from their mountain fastness, the hitherto isolated Falashas, into the vortex of the great abyss of misery and wretchedness.

Let me now recur to the early Hebrew settlers in Abyssinia. On the promulgation of the Gospel in Ethiopia, A.D. 341, under the episcopacy of Frumentius, in a belligerent tone of voice, and with actions

suiting to the words, the Falashas retired to the mountainous fastness of Semien, and Bellesa, where they maintained an existence of chequered independence, under a line of Kings and Queens, bearing the generic names of Gideon and Judith. Their independence fell, as has been already intimated, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when they were forced to make themselves homes in the midst of their enemies, the unclean Amharas, as they call their Abyssinian neighbours.

The Falashas, pride themselves on the purity of their Abrahamic blood, and would scorn to be compared with the noblest of the Saxon and Norman races, whose bluest blood they would probably consider murky and muddy. They are scrupulously moral; diligently industrious, strictly religious, but, it must be added, distressingly superstitious. Towards those out of the pale of their communion, they are isolated, unsocial, and repellant in the extreme. Their Mesquids, or Synagogues, are as inaccessible to a non-Israelite, as the Mosque at Mecca is to non-Mohammedans. They are poor, very poor, in the possession of the Word of God. Portions of the Pentateuch, and of the Psalms, are all the Scriptures that the Falashas have of Moses and the Prophets. The Book of Leviticus is the staple work from which they are instructed. Their priests are ascetics and fanatics. They are, however, strong in the belief of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, in the ultimate splendour of the Holy City, and the eventual glory of the people of Israel. The following are some sentences

from the Falasha liturgy:—"Thou, O Lord, who hearest in Heaven, the worship of thy saints, hear us also when we cry unto Thee, in Thy holy Temple. O Lord, be not angry with us, nor suffer us to be destroyed. Remember the covenant of our Fathers, whom Thou hadst redeemed from the bondage of Egypt. Forgive us our sins, and blot out our transgressions, which have separated us from Thee.

"God of our Fathers, turn unto us, and cause us to live.

"God of Abraham, turn unto us, and cause us to live.

"God of Isaac, turn unto us, and cause us to live.

"God of Jacob, turn unto us, and cause us to live.

"God of Angels, turn unto us, and cause us to live.

"O Lord, lead us in the right way, and give peace unto Zion, and salvation unto Jerusalem."

The Falashas interpret the two great prophecies in the Pentateuch, as predicting the Great Deliverer. The prophecies I allude to, are those uttered by the Patriarch Jacob, and by Israel's Deliverer from Egypt, within a few days of their respective deaths. The former spake thus to his assembled sons:—"The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto Him shall the gathering of the people be."*

* Gen. xlix. 10.

The latter thus addressed the now great nation, "On this side Jordan, in the land of Moab:"—"The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto Him ye shall hearken . . . And the Lord said unto me, They have well spoken that which they have spoken. I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put My words in His mouth, and He shall speak unto them all that I shall command Him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto My words which He shall speak in My name, I will require it of him."*

For the last seventy years—three score and ten years, so prolific in political, civil, and religious changes—Abyssinia has been brought into prominent notice, and that too by the government of Great Britain. It was when France, under the first Napoleon—a man whose eventful history, in some respects resembles somewhat that of the present Emperor of Abyssinia, the which I shall presently bring before you—I say that when France, at the close of the last century, attempted to obtain ascendancy in Egypt, that the Government of this Country began to make overtures of friendship and alliance to the ruling powers of Abyssinia. I will not weary you with the dry diplomatic manœuvres of Lord Valentia, Major Sir William Harris, Messrs. Salt, Pearce, Coffin, Bell, and Plowden. Suffice it to say,

* Deut. xviii., 15, 17, 18, 19.

at present, that until the accession of the present ruler of Abyssinia, our government espoused the cause of that country—no matter who the dominant party happened to be—against Turkey and Egypt, the implacable enemies of Ethiopia; and in various other ways did Great Britain show itself in the guise of a friendly ally of Abyssinia and the Abyssinians. However, since the occupation of the Ethiopian throne by the present Emperor, a gradual decline of England's feelings towards that country became apparent. That change—for which no doubt the Government have cogent reasons of their own—and French Jesuitical scheming and intrigue, have brought about the incarceration and torture of English Missionaries, the English Consul of Massowah, and other English subjects, by the slighted Abyssinian autocrat.

It is necessary to my plan of treating my subject that I make a digression here on the vicissitudes of British Christian Missions in Abyssinia. In the year 1829, the Church Missionary Society, established a Mission in Ethiopia; it prospered most favourably for a time; Dr. Samuel Gobat, the present Bishop of Jerusalem, was one of the first staff of Missionaries in Abyssinia. The Church of Rome, the evil genius of Christianity, who did not hitherto think of Ethiopia, began now to exert her baneful influence there. By subtle ecclesiastical and political intrigues Romish emissaries succeeded in marring the work of the English Missionaries, and in bringing about the ex-

pulsion of the preachers of the Gospel from thence in 1838. The Roman Catholics lost no time in establishing a Mission in Ethiopia, the head of which was Padre de Jacobis, a Neapolitan of noble birth, and a Prince of crafty intriguers. Romanism began to spread amongst the poor Abyssinians, and Padre de Jacobis was designated Aboona Yakob, i.e. Primate Yakob, of all the Roman Catholics in Ethiopia.

The English Missionaries then proceeded to Shoa, where they re-commenced their Christian work, under very auspicious circumstances; but soon after a M. Rochet, a French Jesuit, made his appearance at the court of Shoa, who craftily obtained the ear of the King; and the English Missionaries were once more persecuted, and had to flee to another place. Even Dr. Krapf's property was seized, and never recovered. Missionary enterprises were undertaken since the accession of the present monarch to the throne of Ethiopia, which I shall bring under your notice, after I have furnished a brief sketch of the remarkable origin, life, and career of that extraordinary man.

He was born about 1820, in the province Kwara, a small province on the western borders of Amhara; his father, *Haelu Weleda Georgis*, though poor, claimed lineal descent from Menilek, the supposed son of Solomon and Magueda, the notable Queen of Sheba; his mother was of very low origin. The former died when the boy, whose name was Kassai, was but of tender age. The widow, in order to drag on an existence, took to the humble trade of *kosso*—

the *anthelmintic*, Anglicè, tape-worm medicine—vendor. The orphan boy was sent to a convent, in the hope that he might be trained up for the Abyssinian priesthood. A defeated rebel, *Dedjatch Maron*, marked that convent as the object of his revenge; he surprised it in the night, set it on fire, and murdered every inmate, except little Kassai. The boy effected his escape, in the dead of the night, to his powerful uncle, Chieftain Comfou, Governor of Kwara.

As Comfou was embroiled in incessant hostilities with neighbouring Chiefs, Kassai tried his hand with sword and spear. The boy was evidently father to the man; he proved so expert a warrior, as to become his uncle's darling, the idol of his uncle's forces, and the terror of his uncle's enemies. Kassai became, at an early age, distinguished for prowess, martial skill, and stratagetic manœuvring; he was at the same time chivalrous and generous. Unhappily, his uncle died an untimely death. The sons of Comfou fell to fighting for the patrimony. The domestic feud proved the utter desolation of the territory fought for.

A neighbouring chieftan, Goshu Beru, Governor of Damot and Godjam, valiant, crafty, and plotting, who watched with savage glee the ruin which the fratricidal struggle effected, when he saw the result—both brothers were killed—pounced upon Kavar. Kassai had again to escape for his life, and found shelter, for some time, at the hut of a peasant, in a place called Sarago, in the province of Alava.*

* The native admirers of the present Emperor of Ethiopia, delight in narrating the following anecdote in connection with the above incident. It is to the effect, that when the hunted boy Kassai became a conquering

When the search for him was abandoned, he left his hiding place, and took to a freebooting pursuit; he organized a gang of seventy freebooters, and acted as Captain of the band of robbers. His strict discipline, however, occasioned a conspiracy against his life. The plot was detected and betrayed. Kassai lost no time in ascertaining how many were on his side; they were but few, but with those few he boldly attacked the confederates, utterly discomfited and routed them. He then made common cause with another Captain of a robber-band, and carried on the work of depredation for a few months longer. But that was evidently not the calling he delighted in; he soon became disgusted with that his mode of life, he therefore abandoned it, and took to agriculture. Farming, however, was as little to his taste as the priesthood, he therefore readily listened to the flattering overtures of subserviency, on the part of the numerous disaffected, and discontented chiefs who rallied round him. The incense of adulation became eventually instrumental in inspiring Kassai with a desire to redress grievances, arrest oppression, and restrain violence. As nephew of the late chief Comfou, Governor of Kwara, he, as next of kin, raised his uncle's standard, and soon rescued his claimed inheritance from the grasp of the

hero, and the head of a large army, he had occasion to lead his victorious forces to that very place. The soldiery were quartered by tens upon the inhabitants thereof. One peasant absolutely refused to admit the men allotted to his keeping in board, lodging, &c. The audacious fellow was upon this forcibly brought before Dedjatch Kassai. The chief at once recognized his friend in need, and displayed the gratitude which a thankful heart always feels towards a benefactor. The latter was sent away rejoicing, crowned with honour, and endowed with presents in money, men-servants and maid-servants, as well as cattle.

usurper Beru, and assumed the governorship of Kwara.

Kassai's popularity, power, and influence, became an ominous fact to the Princes, and Governors of the different provinces of Abyssinia. There was therefore, a determination on the part of the several rulers of the fragmentary land, to destroy the upstart and adventurer. Kassai's most relentless enemy was the Waisero Menin, mother of Ras Ali, the titular Queen of all the provinces west of the Taccazy.* To crush "the kosso vendor's son," as she contemptuously called the popular chief of Kwara, became the purpose of her existence.† But it was not to be. The army which was sent against him, met with discomfiture and disaster. The Jezebeline crafty intrigues, and alluring blandishments, failed to entrap the wary Kassai.—The Waisero, or Queen mother, like the notorious Jezebel, was a daughter of a Pagan Chieftan, one of the heathen Gallas. Her grand-child, daughter of Ras-Ali, whom the Abyssinian Jezebel intended as a Delilah for the Abyssinian

* Ras Ali himself never ruled or governed, as is erroneously stated in Earl Russell's famous despatch.

† An amusing anecdote is related in connection with the war cry "Down with the kosso vendor's son!"—One of the chiefs of the Waisero Menin, promised his mistress, to bring her back from the battle, upon which he was just entering, with Kassai, the kosso-seller's son, dead or alive. Fortune, as usual, smiled on the arms of the Waisero-Menin's adversary, in which battle that confident chief of hers, was not only defeated, but also taken prisoner, by the low-born Kassai. The Victor heard of the captured chief's obnoxious boast; the prisoner was therefore invited to a repast with the conqueror, when he, i.e. Kassai, ordered a flask of kosso to be placed before his captive guest, and thus addressed him, "I am, as you have truly said, only the son of a poor kosso-seller; but as my mother has not sold any of that medicine to-day, I take it for granted, that you at least, will patronise her wares under the circumstances." The wretched guest had to swallow the nauseous liquid to the very dregs. A French writer, with proverbial "French leave," has recently published the circumstance as having taken place, in the case of Mr. Stern.

Samson, and therefore gave her to him in marriage, proved a most affectionate and loving wife; her brave and loyal husband's guardian angel. She foiled every treacherous attempt, on the part of her excessively depraved grand-mother, on her beloved husband's life. A circumstance which evidences that there was something praiseworthy in Kassai.

Thwarted in the matrimonial manœuvre, the Waisero Menin then hit upon another scheme. She sent him to repel an overwhelming invasion of Arabs and Egyptians, in which engagement she made sure of his death; but he returned safe, if not sound. She then unmasked herself, and appeared openly in her real character, as the most deadly foe of her grand-daughter's husband. Several battles followed, in every one of which Kassai was the victor, and the gainer of fresh territory. Step by step, Kassai trampled under foot, the chief of every tribe, the governor of every province, in that extensive domain, known as Abyssinia. He was known, during his progress towards the throne of Ethiopia, frequently to throw himself on his face, in the midst of his comrades, in the warfare, and exclaim:—"I praise Thee, O God, that Thou has manifested Thy goodness to a poor sinner like me! Whom Thou humblest is humbled, whom Thou exaltest is exalted. Thine is the power, and glory, for ever and ever."

The only province and ruler which Kassai, as Kassai, did not subjugate, was the province of Tigrè, and its ruler Oubie. To prevent any more effusion of blood, it was proposed that the respective claims

of Kassai and Oubie, to the imperial dignity of Abyssinia, be submitted to the arbitration of a council, composed of the great nobles, and chieftains of the empire. Each aspirant to the imperial throne took an oath to abide by the decision of the arbitrators. The conclave of referees tried to keep their counsel to themselves, but for all that, it oozed out, and reached the ears of Kassai, that the nobles of Tigrè were resolved to place Oubie on the throne of Ethiopia, and that the Coptic Bishop Abba Salama, was to anoint and crown the Emperor elect. Never did lover of the game of chess, play bishop against bishop, so dexterously—not that it reflects, in this case, much credit upon the player—as did the diplomatic Kassai. He despatched a messenger to the Romish Bishop, Aboona Yakob, already named, to inform him, that he, Kassai, was prepared to embrace Romanism himself, and make it the established religion of Abyssinia, if the Aboona would crown him Emperor. The prince of intriguers did not see the purport of the artful move on the political chess-board; he caught at the bait, and made the promise. Kassai, then led his army into Oubie's hereditary province of Semien. The Coptic Archbishop, Aboona Salama, thereupon moved a formidable piece against the black knight, and his force, saying "*Cheque!*" alias, Excommunication. But Kassai soon got out of cheque, by playing the Romish Bishop, Aboona Yakob, who had power to absolve what Bishop Salama thought proper to bind. The Coptic Aboona saw that he was likely to be checkmated, if he con-

tinued to cover his knight Oubie, he therefore surrendered to Kassai. He stipulated however, that the Coptic persuasion should be the established religion of the empire, and that Bishop Yakob, and his pawns, or priests, be removed from the Abyssinian board altogether. Aboona Yakob did not wait for banishment, he had the discretion to run away, which he evidently considered the better part of valour.

Oubie was determined to fight it out, in spite of the Coptic Aboona's defection; he therefore moved his whole army against Kassai. The encounter was an appalling one; Kassai's warriors, though used to the greatest dangers, and acts of daring, began to quail when they beheld the immense army which Oubie brought into the field. Insubordination and mutiny stared Kassai in the face. But Kassai, like another live Emperor, believes that he has a mission, and was, and is, proof against the most imminent and impending dangers. He bravely rode up to the front of his army, and harangued his forces, in a clear, commanding voice. He thrilled the breathless host into rapturous enthusiasm, by arraying before them a graphic retrospect of their former glorious achievements, and wound up his impassioned address in the following defiant words:—"And now after all our numerous conquests, does yonder rheumatic dotard chill the ardour of your prowess? Do yonder guns, charged with powder and rags, cow your souls? Are yonder rocks and chasm a barrier to your bravery? Follow me, and to-morrow, by this time, my name will be no more Kassai, but Theodoros,

for God has given me the Kingdom." This happened on the tenth of February, 1856, one of the most awfully memorable days, in the annals of Abyssinian warfare.

The Tigrani army was utterly routed; Oubie himself was wounded and captured. On the twelfth day of that month, Kassai disappeared, and Theodoros—so named by Aboona Salama, when anointed and crowned—came into being, as king of kings, i.e. Emperor of Ethiopia. Such is a brief sketch of the man, from destitute childhood to an imperial throne, who has brought us together this evening.

It will thus be manifest that the reigning sovereign of Abyssinia is under the impression that he is the object of that native legendary prophecy, in whose reign Christianity is to become the creed of the world. Emperor Theodoros stoutly affirms his lineal descent from the problematical Menilek, scion of Solomon, king of Jerusalem. His grateful dream is to be one day anointed and crowned in the Holy City.

Soon after the accession of the present king of Ethiopia to supreme power, Dr. Krapf came to Abyssinia, for the third time, to establish a mission there; he met with a very favourable reception from his majesty. The Emperor and the Aboona granted to the indefatigable evangelist, leave to establish a Protestant mission in Abyssinia. Theodoros then, and for several years afterwards, entertained the kindest feelings towards England, as well as towards

other Christian powers. On his accession to the throne of Ethiopia, he addressed the Sovereigns of Great Britain, France, Russia, Prussia, and others, seeking their alliance, protesting his detestation of Mohammedanism, and resolving to root out that noxious weed from his dominions. He moreover proposed to Alexander II, that they should unite their strength, with a view to partitioning the lands of Mohammedanism between themselves. He also intimated his desire to be crowned at Jerusalem, as became the lineal successor of Menilek, the son of the great and wise king of Israel.* Of course, all this proves Theodoros to be a visionary, a man of extravagant ambition, and of exaggerated expectations. But not one whit more so than was Napoleon I. However, Theodoros was, for a time, sincerely and friendly disposed towards England, and to the establishment, in his territory, of English Christian missions, which the other Emperor never was. That disposition may have been fostered by Messrs. Bell and Plowden, but there it was.

Let me quote here a few passages from Mr. Stern's work, which will enable you to form a pretty accurate opinion of the heterogenous combinations in Theodoro's character:—"With the greatest courtesy the king beckoned me to come nearer, a condescen-

*The author whilst in Russia, in 1856, at a time when the representatives of all nations flocked to do honour to the august enthronement of Alexander II., was very much entertained by the heads of the principal Convent and College, the Nevskoi, with the narratives about the Abyssinian delegates, and the principal objects of their mission. The author must, in justice, own that the Abyssinians were the most picturesque individuals amongst the mixed multitude, both at St. Petersburg and Moscow.

sion towards a Frankish priest which made many a haughty chief sneer, and then in a tone of the utmost affability, he interrogated me about the various countries I had visited, the character of the people, and the religions they professed. That a christian nation like the English should tolerate Idolatry in India, and uphold the power of Moham-medanism in Egypt and Turkey, he could not understand; and as politics and religion are synonymous terms in Abyssinia, I thought it advisable merely to observe that Christianity taught us to love, and not to persecute; to instruct and not to oppress an unbeliever. 'Avoonat! Avoonot!' (True! True!) he exclaimed; 'and if this is your design in Abyssinia, you have my approval to your mission, if you likewise obtain the assent of the Aboona.' On my craving permission to travel in his realm, in case the Metropolitan countenanced the object which brought me to Abyssinia, he instantly replied, 'I am your brother and friend, and you have my full sanction to visit every province in my kingdom.'

"In the afternoon, Mr. Bell and myself were summoned to the royal tent, where, for some time we conversed on several of the most important articles of our faith. I was quite astonished to find that his Majesty was so well acquainted with many portions of God's Holy Word; and though his religious knowledge partook deeply of the superstitions and errors of his church, yet it was quite evident that he had studied the Bible, and had

received a good impression from its sacred contents. I mentioned to him some of the results of modern missions, and if he had won a great battle, he could not have manifested greater delight and pleasure than he expressed on hearing of the achievements of the Cross."

"During our conversation, I incidentally alluded to the promise, 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.' On hearing this quotation, his whole countenance, usually stern and grave, assumed a happy and smiling expression, and, as if engaged in some deep reflection, he made a short pause in our conversation, and then exclaimed, in a tone in which mistaken piety and ardent zeal were evidently blended, 'Let God give victory to my arms, and peace to my empire, and the Cross shall not lack support in my country!'"

"His Majesty . . . immediately, on hearing that we had come to pay our respects, turned towards us, and, in a clear, ringing voice said, 'My children, you are welcome.' This brief salutation, which really expressed more than all those pathetic and farcical compliments, in which Abyssinians at every meeting indulge, was followed by some inquiries about Europe and the nations beyond Jerusalem. I told his Majesty that it was customary to congratulate those who entered into the happy bond of matrimony, and that we gladly availed ourselves of our national practice to present to him our unfeigned wishes and prayers on the auspicious event, which had caused such universal and sincere

joy through his empire. 'My people,' he quickly replied, 'are bad; they love rebellion and hate peace; delight in idleness, and are averse to industry; but, if God continues to me my life,' added he, with glowing ardour, 'I will eradicate all that is bad, and introduce all that is salutary and good.' We spontaneously breathed our 'Amen,' to this hopeful prophecy of a man, who certainly has the will and inclination to raise his country from its present moral, social, and religious degradation, though unfortunately, his defective education, uncontrollable ambition, and hasty temper, must all undergo a severe discipline, ere he can prove himself—as his flatterers pretend—worthy of the title and achievements which are to inaugurate, according to an old legend, the golden reign of the great Theodoros. On retiring he ordered that two cows should be given to each of us, and also that a large tent should be pitched for our accommodation in the vicinity of his residence."

"In the camp, notwithstanding the chilliness and cold of the early hour, we found the king already up, and actively engaged in dictating dispatches to the half-naked, shivering scribes, and in giving orders to the no less courtly attired commanders of his troops. In deference to the white visitors, and to the satisfaction of the chilled officials, business was for a brief interval suspended. His Majesty asked us a variety of questions about Europe, its divisions, creeds, armies, and warfare. He was quite surprised to hear that in Christian countries

prisoners of war were generously treated, and women and children, youth and innocence, exempt from all its penalties. 'You are,' he replied, 'superior to us in all things; and if God permits, I shall soon send an embassy to England to open the eyes, of at least, a few of my people.' " *

What a diamond! though in the rough. What a nugget! though in the ore. Would! that the sovereigns of civilized Europe had thought it worth their while to polish and refine a prince, in whom there was once so much good! I might keep you the whole night in adducing tokens and instances of the same. But I must draw towards the conclusion, and end, for which this lecture is given. I shall therefore now address myself to the once friendly treatment of, and now cruel, tyrannical, and inhuman conduct towards, certain English Missionaries, and a British Consul.

Let me return for a while to the Falashas of Abyssinia. I have told you that the deportment of that remnant of Israel was—towards those out of the pale of their communion—isolated, reserved, unsocial and repellant in the extreme. Those characteristics, along with the depravity of the Coptic Christians, rendered a Christian mission to the Falashas, humanly speaking, hopeless. "The London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews," however, is not influenced by human probability, but guided by the positive behest of Israel's Redeemer; they availed

* *Wanderings among the Falashas in Abyssinia.* By the Rev. Henry A. Stern.—pp. 56, 57, 60, 61, 122, 123, 149.

themselves therefore of the opening in Abyssinia, and of Theodoro's reported good will towards this country, and despatched the Rev. Henry A. Stern, and Mr. Bronkhorst, to organise a mission among the Falashas.

The Missionaries reached Gondar, the present capital of Ethiopia, in the beginning of 1860. The reception of them, as already anticipated by the extracts from Mr. Stern's work, by the Emperor and the Aboona was most courteous, cordial and hospitable. Both his Majesty and his Grace, accorded to the English Missionaries permission and facility to preach the Gospel to the hitherto inaccessible Falashas. The Missionaries made the best use of the license, and their labours, amongst the objects of their solicitude, were crowned with the most signal blessing. Perhaps never, since the age of the Apostles, was such a measure of success vouchsafed to evangelists.

Mr. Stern left his fellow-missionary, Mr. Bronkhorst, to carry on the work of evangelisation, whilst he himself came back to Europe to tell of the door of usefulness opened for the work of God, by means of that Society. Mr. Stern, on his return to the west, electrified the whole of Christian Protestant Europe with the intelligence which he brought home. Never did the immense crowd in Exeter Hall feel so truly influenced to do good unto Israel as on the third day of May, 1861, when Mr. Stern narrated some of the things which he had heard and seen in Abyssinia, amongst the remnant of Israel there.*

* See Appendix B.

Three great disasters befell Abyssinia, during Mr. Stern's stay in England. FIRST, the murder of the English Consul Plowden. SECONDLY, the fall in a battle, consequent to the murder, of the King's best friend and counsellor, the English Mr. Bell. The King's painful sense of those two great calamities, evinced itself, not only in the terrible vengeance which he wreaked upon the murderers, but also in the magnificent reception which he gave to Consul Plowden's successor, Captain Charles Duncan Cameron, who was appointed Consul for Massowah and Abyssinia. Eye-witnesses reported, that the royal reception was so splendid, as no European experienced before. The Consul was the bearer of a friendly letter, and a small present from the English Government. Captain Cameron stood a fair chance to fill up, in the King's heart, the affectionate esteem which his Majesty entertained towards the two lamented English gentlemen, Messrs. Bell and Plowden.

THIRDLY. I stated that three great disasters befell Abyssinia, during Mr. Stern's stay in England; the third was the most disastrous of all. An evil influence, like that evil spirit which tormented the demented Saul, began to work at the Abyssinian Court. A Frenchman of the name of Bardel, a minion of the expelled Jesuits, made his way to Gondar, about the same time that Captain Cameron arrived there, and even pretended to have come to the Abyssinian capital under the wing of the new English Consul. This French Jesuit, craftily obtained

the ear of Theodoros, and was not long in poisoning it against the English Government, and the English Missionaries. He succeeded in placing the British Consul, and the Protestant Missionaries, unknown to those gentlemen, at a great disadvantage.

The Emperor Theodoros, however, true to his great idea, to form alliances with all other Christian states, despatched, in the beginning of November, 1862, Captain Cameron and M. Bardel, respectively, as his especial envoys, with autograph letters, to Queen Victoria, and the Emperor Napoleon. We do not care much about the contents of the missive to the Emperor of the French, but we feel rather curious to learn whether the Abyssinian potentate, had so grossly committed himself, in his communication to Her Majesty, as to have incurred the penalty of silent contempt. I give you, therefore, the translation of his letter, as presented to the House of Lords at the end of last May:—

“In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God in Trinity, chosen by God, King of Kings, Theodoros of Ethiopia, to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Queen of England. I hope your Majesty is in good health. By the power of God, I am well. My fathers, the Emperors, having forgotten our Creator, He handed over their kingdoms to the Gallas and Turks. But God created me, lifted me out of the dust, and restored his empire to my rule. He endowed me with power, and enabled me to stand in the place of my fathers. By His power, I drove away the Gallas. But for the

Turks, I have told them to leave the land of my ancestors. They refuse. I am now going to wrestle with them. Mr. Plowden, and my late Grand Chamberlain, the Englishman Bell, used to tell me, that there is a great Christian Queen, who loves all Christians. When they said to me this, 'We are able to make you known to her, and to establish friendship between you,' then in those times I was very glad. I gave them my love, thinking that I had found your Majesty's goodwill. All men are subject to death, and my enemies, thinking to injure me, killed these my friends. But by the power of God, I have exterminated those enemies, not leaving one alive, though they were of my own family, that I may get, by the power of God, your friendship.

"I was prevented, by the Turks occupying the sea-coast, from sending you an Embassy when I was in difficulty. Consul Cameron arrived with a letter, and presents of friendship. By the power of God, I was very glad hearing of your welfare, and being assured of your amity. I have received your presents, and thank you much.

"I fear that if I send Ambassadors with presents of amity, by Consul Cameron, they may be arrested by the Turks. And now I wish you may arrange for the safe passage of my Ambassadors everywhere on the road.

"I wish to have an answer to this letter, by Consul Cameron, and that he may conduct my Embassy to England. See how the Islam oppress the Christian."

Different lots fell to the two different envoys. On

his way to the coast, Captain Cameron was stopped in Tigrè, by a rebel chief, at the head of three hundred men, and compelled to take refuge in the Sanctuary at Axum,* which caused some delay on his part; and on the arrival of his dispatches at Massowah, they had to be sent to Europe by the circuitous route of Aden; so that they did not reach London till the middle of February, 1863. Who informed the 'rebel chief' of Captain Cameron's mission? How was it that M. Bardel, not only was never stopped by any 'rebel chief,' but that he met, immediately on arriving at Massowah, with the French Frigate 'Le Curieux,' which at once conveyed him, with his dispatches to Jedda and Suez; so that he arrived with them at Paris, most probably before the English dispatches had reached Aden?

Never contemplating the probability that the Foreign Office would treat with neglect, or indifference the Emperor Theodoros' autograph letter to her Majesty—far more quaint and eccentric royal dispatches, than the one I have just read, have been treated with polite deference by various governments—Captain Cameron proceeded into the country of Bogos, with a view to investigate certain aggressions, on the part of the governor of the adjoining Egyptian province of Taka, and other matters in dispute. For that procedure he not only had the example of his predecessor, Consul Plowden, who did the very same thing in 1854, and was praised for so doing by

* Axum is one of those Sanctuaries which possess the privileges of a City of Refuge.

the Foreign Office, but the act and deed was in strict accordance with one of the instructions which Earl Russell sent to Consul Cameron, for his guidance, as Her Britannic Majesty's accredited agent at Massowah and Abyssinia.* Captain Cameron had, however, hoped that by the time he had adjusted the differences between the rival tribes, Earl Russell would have returned an answer to the Abyssinian Emperor's autograph letter. Never was hallucination half so delusive! In the mean time there was not wanting adverse influence, at Gondar, against "perfidious Albion's treachery." No one need to be told where the phrase was forged.

I must now ask you to return for a short time to the Missionaries. Whilst in England Mr. Stern published that interesting work from which I read to you a couple of pages, in the course of this lecture. It consists principally of a chronicle of his travels to, and in Abyssinia. Unhappily the book contains a few sentences which tell the old, old, story that every picture has a dark side, as well as a bright one. The picture of king Theodoros is no exception to the general rule, but that rather, in his case, the side which is *not* bright, is one of thick darkness.

By way of parenthesis.—I agree with the able writer of the leader, on the subject, published in the "Times" of October 16th, [1865,] that Mr. Stern must have been forgetful, at the time when he wrote his book, of Solomon's wise caution against cursing

* See Appendix C.

a king even in thought. But I can not think with the writer that that forgetfulness mainly contributed to the misfortunes which have befallen himself, and other Europeans.*

Mr. Stern returned to Abyssinia, in the beginning of 1863, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Rosenthal. He found the mission in a most prosperous state. Mr. Bronkhorst and Mr. Flad had met with ready access to the most repellant and ascetic Falashas. The last letter which Mr. Stern wrote, at the end of that year, testifies to the great success which the Gospel met amongst the Abyssinian Jews.† But a heavy cloud, and an ominous one, hung over the Gondar imperial

* The following extract from the imprisoned Missionary Rosenthal, dated "Magdala Amba, September 16th, 1865," repeats the incontrovertible fact—to which certain parties obstinately shut their eyes and ears—that the misfortunes of the British captives in Abyssinia are traceable to a different cause from that of Stern's book:—

"You remember that the whole affair of our imprisonment turns around the Government Letter. Had the same arrived a year ago, without any further comment, it is probable that we had long ago enjoyed liberty. Would the same were presented, even with ceremony, or without it,—delivered either by an Englishman or an Abyssinian,—we are pretty confident that, if not permitted to leave the country, our imprisonment would at least be at an end. So the whole matter finishes in this:—On account of this oft mentioned letter, kept in some secluded spot of the universe for some time longer, we have no other hope but to remain to an indefinite period in Magdala, or some other unpleasantly elevated locality of the Abyssinian highlands, until its arrival. The difference, however, which now exists, is this:—formerly the king only desired an answer. The proposal was made to him that a gentleman should forward that document, and at the same time effect a reconciliation between the two parties. It only stands to reason that the Negroes expect, as the case remains, that both should be carried out. And the one without the other would not be sufficient to effect our release. There is still another, and serious consideration. His Majesty has been informed so often of the arrival at Massowah of the letter, without its making its appearance *here*, that if it does not come soon, or that gentleman at Massowah does not find an open road to forward it, his Majesty might think that all the letter affair is a delusion, only practiced upon him to get us quietly out of the country. And if he has once made up his mind this way, it might be a bad job for us. . . . His pride was wounded in not receiving an answer to his letter. This he wanted, and nothing else"

† See Appendix D.

court, which forbade approach, uninvited, at the peril of the intruder. I shall now let Mr. Stern tell the sequel, in his own way, by a few extracts from his letters which have recently reached London.

.

"But I must not be prodigal with the limited quantity of paper at my disposal, nor dare to be diffusive in my statements without attracting the eyes of the guards: therefore I simply jot down the chief points connected with my own and fellow-prisoners' painful history. You are aware that in the beginning of April, 1863, I reached Abyssinia. Our mission, though restricted in its operations, was then most prosperous, and despite obstacles, I cherished the most hallowed anticipations respecting the future. In June, Captain Cameron, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, arrived a second time at Genda. The king, who had been at some distance, also quite accidentally came into our neighbourhood. During his stay in our vicinity, I heard several times that he was annoyed that Captain Cameron had not brought an answer to his letter to the British Government, and also for having gone round the frontier, and formed, as was falsely represented, prejudicial intimacies with his enemies, the Turks. Against us and our mission I also heard unfavourable reports. Not expecting violence or forcible detention, even under the most adverse circumstances, I visited the Falashas of various districts. . . . About the 20th of September I came back to Genda, and on the evening of

my return a royal order summoned the British Consul, all the Missionary agents, and myself to Gondar, to hear the reading of the letter which Mons. Bardel had brought from the Emperor of the French. . . The crisis, which for some time had been looming in the distance, was now drawing nearer and nearer. All felt that there was something impending . . . I remained at Gondar till Tuesday, and then bade a final adieu to the Bishop and other friends, and quitted, as I thought for ever, the capital of Abyssinia. . . . Here [in the plain of Woggera,] to my surprise, I saw the king's white tent glittering in the sun's rays, on one of the heights which dot the plateau. Duty, as well as courtesy, forbade me to advance without saluting his Majesty. This induced me to halt, and towards afternoon I proceeded, accompanied by two of my servants, of whom one spoke a little Arabic, to the royal camping ground. After waiting about two hours, his Majesty came into the open air. Myself and attendants immediately made a most humble obeisance. There was a frown on the king's countenance, which argued nothing auspicious. Between the first question and the death of my two servants, the hand of time could not have advanced ten minutes. The gloom of approaching night, the rattling of sticks, and my own doubtful fate, prompted me to put my hand mechanically to my lips, or as it was said, to put my finger into my mouth. This was construed into a crime, and in less time than these words take to pen, I was stript, beaten, and lay almost lifeless, on the ground. Wounded, bruised, and

bleeding, my executioners dragged, or rather carried me down the hill, where my swollen wrist was fastened by a hoop and a chain to the arm of a soldier. . . . At daylight I was given into the charge of several chiefs, whilst the king moved on to Gondar. The villagers, as also my guards, showed me much sympathy, and like the good Samaritan, they washed my wounds, and brought me an abundance of milk, the only nourishment my inflamed lips and gums allowed me to swallow down. Mid-day, my servants, strongly guarded, were conducted to my temporary prison, and never shall I forget the shrieks, lamentations, and agonising contortions which the sight of their afflicted master occasioned. Orders had been sent that I should have foot and hand fetters, but as my ankle was too much inflamed for the hoops, they transgressed the royal command, and only tied my left hand to my right ankle. The next day a detachment of troops came to escort me and my servants to Gondar. I was now treated as a regular criminal; in fact my position became so painful, and my physical sufferings so intense, that I looked for death as a happy release. The abject condition to which I had been reduced, softened even the flinty hearts of my guards, and amidst words of comfort and hope, they told me in whispering breath that my intimacy with the Bishop, and the report that he had sold the Church lands to me and the British Consul,* were the cause of my misfortune, and that it might have fared worse with me had I passed the royal camp, as arrangements

* See Appendix E.

had already been made for my arrest. . . . On the fourth day (I believe) Mr. Flad. Mons. Bardel, Samuel (a convert [and a namesake] of Bishop Gobat),* and two officers of the royal household, came to inspect my luggage, as I was suspected of having letters from the Bishop or Captian Cameron. My photographic sketches, and a well assorted collection of insects, however, entirely absorbed their curiosity, and the search turned out to be only a farce.

"In going away, *I mentioned to Mons. Bardel, that I had papers and diaries which might compromise me*, to which he readily replied, 'Don't be afraid; for, if anything is found, I will say they are the journals of . . . a gentlemen in England.' My visitors gave me, and my luggage, again in charge of the guards, and then left . . . *The anticipated arrival of favorable letters from the British Government*, as well as the energetic efforts of the Metropolitan and other friends, dispelled every doubt of my speedy release. Captain Cameron, Her Majesty's Consul, also kindly offered to exert himself officially in my behalf, but I disclaimed all assistance that was not strictly of a conciliatory and friendly character. About the beginning of November, the King wrote to his European workmen at Gaffat, that he had tortured me long enough, and that if they approved of it, they should come to

* This Abyssinian Samuel is the friend and confidential correspondent of his spiritual father, the right reverend Samuel, of Jerusalem. The character of that convert may be gathered from Appendix E.

Gondar and reconcile us. My prospects now looked bright and hopeful, when, unexpectedly, his Majesty was informed (*I know by whom, but will not, without positive proof give the name*),* that I had papers unfavorable to him. This was exactly four weeks after my beating and incarceration Unexpectedly, Samuel, and a party of soldiers, came rushing into my prison, seized every article in it, and carried it off to the King. My Egyptian servant Joseph, who had been my fellow prisoner, though not in chains, was desired to follow. Two hours of torturing suspense had elapsed, when bags, boxes, &c., were again brought back, minus every paper and book. I anxiously interrogated poor Joseph, about every incident, but he was so agitated and nervous, that I could only gather from his incoherent sentences, that every paper and book had been handed to Mons. Bardel, who acted as examiner . . . The glowing prospect of freedom, and restoration to the bosom of my family, from that hour, like the declining rays of the sun, sank before my mind's vision, and all became again dark In the evening, I was given in charge of severer guards, and tied hands and feet Twenty-five soldiers and five chiefs were now appointed as my regular guard One of the guards, into whose good graces, I wormed myself, informed me that I had an enemy at Gondar, and snapping his fingers, (a sign that all was over), ejaculated, 'We are all dust,

* There is proof positive, that the Jesuit Bardel, and Samuel, Bishop Gobal's convert, were the informers.—See Appendix E.

and must die.' . . . Makerer, a French servant of the British Consul, sent me word through a soldier, *that he longed for letter from the British Government would arrive in two days*, and that on Friday, I was to be liberated . . . Early that morning, to my agreeable surprise and gratitude, the feet chains were opened . . . About mid-day my fierce chief gaily marched into the tent, and commanded that I should accompany him to his Majesty. I immediately obeyed the summons; but, instead of a private interview with the monarch, I found the whole army drawn up in a square, the furthest line of which was occupied by a kind of throne, on which sat the king, shaded by gigantic silken umbrellas. On the left side of his Majesty, I noticed Messrs. Bardel and Zander, and on the right, a host of priests and scribes; whilst in the interior of the square, and squatted on carpets, were ranged in opposite lines, the King's European workmen, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, and the Missionaries . . . My Christian fortitude (and I do not say it in a boastful strain), which always rose higher as the danger became more imminent, almost flagged, as on looking round I saw Rosenthal in chains, standing about a hundred steps from me . . . The *Fetha Negest* was then read, and according to that code, the verdict of death was pronounced on all who spoke, wrote, or offended the King. Judgment being thus announced, before the accusations were read, the prisoners were naturally deprived of all defence or hope. For form's sake, the charges were, however

read. Ten articles were, I believe, brought forward against me, and the most formidable of these were the assertion, that a war between the King and a foreign power would remove intolerance, and introduce religious liberty—that since the death of Mr. Bell, the King had no good counsellor—that various provinces, and also Genda, had been plundered—and lastly, that in passing a place where lay bleaching in the sun 700 or 800 skulls, I had stated in my diary, they (*sic*) had been murdered in *cold blood*. The only offensive statement in my book, of which I had unfortunately one copy, was the pedigree of his Majesty; and the last heavy crime consisted in my having a few harmless and complimentary notes from the Metropolitan. Rosenthal's sins, which were laid upon me, though I knew not a word of what he had written till that very moment, consisted in some remarks about the king's private life, in a letter to a relative in London . . . Knowing full well from sad experience what the verdict implied, I appealed to Samuel, and entreated him to solicit the royal pardon in our behalf. At first he did not deign to give a reply, but on reiterating the request he angrily replied 'to-morrow, to-morrow.'

"The king then waved his hand, and both Mr. Rosenthal and myself were led off to our common tented prison. The chains were again the same day fastened round our legs, and faith had once more to exert its energy, and seek refuge from surrounding despair in the arms of Omnipotence. Judgment was given on Friday, and on Monday morning all my

luggage was for the last time, carried off to the king. . . . On the next morning Samuel and an officer came to our prison, and in the name of his Majesty promised me a pardon and favours, if I confessed that through the family of the wife of Ras Oubie, one of the greatest men in the country, I obtained the information respecting the royal descent. I deprecated all acquaintance, direct or indirect, with that family, and my tormentors walked off in a discontented and angry humour. A spasmodic calm, like the lull of the elements before the outburst of the storm, now crept into our tents. We attributed this to the arrival of the impatiently expected letter from the British Government, an intelligence that came to us quite accidentally. . . . The memorable 4th of December at length broke, with wonted brightness, upon the afflicted and happy, the prisoner, and the free. About noon that day our fetters on the feet were removed, and escorted by a detachment of soldiers, we were conducted before the king. His Majesty was, on our arrival, engaged in administering justice, and for two hours we had to stand close to the criminals who were undergoing the dreadful punishment of the *giraf*, [a whip made of hippopotamus hide, about 5 feet in length.] On being summoned nearer, his Majesty ironically said in reference to an expression which had inadvertently dropped from my lips, 'Are you now afraid?' We gave no reply, but quietly resigned ourselves to Him who is the help of His servants in all times of need. His

Majesty then peremptorily inquired why we had insulted him? Fearlessly, though respectfully, I returned, 'Our object has not been to insult your Majesty, nor have we written a single word in the language of this country; but if we have done wrong we humbly crave your royal pardon! Samuel, who acted as interpreter, had not quite finished translating this sentence, when the king commanded to take away our shamas and shirts. Miserable, wretched, with a mere rag around the waist, we were conducted back to our prison. . . . Our chief jailer, who had gone to the king, came back in about two hours; but instead of leading us to execution, as we had every reason to believe, he brought to each a tattered rag, and also ordered us to have some bread and water.

"Respite, and not release, did not lighten our burden or mitigate our mental and physical sufferings. . . . We now heard from all sides that our lives had been in imminent peril; nay, we were assured that on the day the king had us stripped, the knives to cut off our hands and feet were actually lying close to the spot where we stood, and that the fell deed was only prevented by the energetic remonstrances and intercession of the head of the monks. Thus almost miraculously delivered from mutilation and a horrible death, we shook off the depressing melancholy which deprived us almost of our senses, and began again to foster the prayerful hope of freedom and liberty. Fifteen days more of trouble and exhausting anxiety rolled away. I do

not recollect the date, but it was on a rainy and dull morning that our tent door was lifted up, and to our surprise as well as joy, there entered Flad, Samuel, and several of the Bishop's and King's people. My body being almost bent double by the chains, Flad softly requested me not to rise, as is customary at the reception of a royal message, but simply told me that his Majesty wished me to give him the exact price of certain silks which had been presented to him by the Metropolitan. Having finished the valuation, which I could easily do, as most had been purchased by me in England, Samuel ordered me to get up, and then he informed me that it had been the king's design to kill me, but that God had not permitted it, and that now I had the means of regaining the royal favor, if I supplied Mr. Flad, who was going to Europe, with letters to procure machines, and one or two gunpowder makers. On the return of Mr. Flad, his Majesty would also allow me to leave Abyssinia, and, that too, overloaded with presents, and a name famous in Africa and Europe. During the interval his Majesty would set me free, and afford me occupation in taking for him photographic sketches. . . . His Majesty sent the following day to open our hand chains, but on Mr. Flad's representation that my legs were in a bad state, the order was reversed. . . . Our affairs, though still undecided, assumed a more favourable aspect. We were again allowed to have a servant, and also clothing, which (you will smile) consisted of shifts from Mrs. Rosenthal's and Mrs. Flad's rifled wardrobes. What we most prized were two

Bibles, a solace we had not enjoyed for six long and trying weeks. . . . Two or three days after the above incidents, Mr. Flad and Samuel came again to me, and requested me to write to my friends to ensure the success of Mr. Flad's mission. Mechanically I complied with the royal behest, and then made some oral arrangement with Flad on the subject. Another year of exile appeared inevitable. The king himself communicated his agreement with me to the Europeans at Gaffat. Judging rightly of my feelings, they gently remonstrated with the king against my further detention, and instead of a machine and powder maker through me, they promised to provide themselves all that his Majesty required. Their objection appeared plausible to the king, and they were requested to come to the camp at Gondar to reconcile us, when Captain Cameron, uninformed of all this, sent in a letter demanding leave to depart for his post at Massowah, in compliance with orders from the British Government. This once more proved fatal to my own and Rosenthal's prospects, and on January 3rd, 1864, Captain Cameron, his European servants, and all the Missionaries, were put in fetters, and we together with them, confined to one common prison, within the royal enclosure.

"The above is a hasty, brief, and unvarnished statement of facts. . . . On a future occasion, if I get paper, I shall furnish you with an account of our subsequent career of sufferings, viz.: Messages from the king—Fresh hatred against me—Awful passage of Scripture—Suspected warning to me and

Rosenthal before execution—Full and complete pardon to Rosenthal and myself—Release of Flad and the other Missionary agents—Mons. Bardel's return from Kassala—Release of Rosenthal from his fetters—Controversy about religious fasts between the king and myself—Reckless temerity in quoting Isaiah lviii.—Public interview between the Metropolitan and myself—Refusal to incriminate him—Torture with ropes—Royal message, 'I know you are not afraid to die, but I shall not kill you; on the contrary, I shall at regular intervals torture you (i.e. myself) till the flesh falls off in rotten pieces from your body'—Second nights' more frightful torture—Finally, removed all the prisoners to Amba Magdala. These and the former facts, if fully delineated, would form a book of real horrors, far stranger than the most improbable and terrifying fiction." *

Well might poor Stern say at the beginning of his heart-rending letter, "Months ago my sufferings and imprisonment might have terminated, had not always some fresh and untoward event occurred to frustrate my hopes. The only comfort in all the afflictions that have been my lot for nearly nineteen months, [April, 1865,] is the consciousness that ever since a gracious Providence directed my wandering steps to this country, I have only sought the welfare of souls, and the glory of the Redeemer."

I can not get rid of the presentiment that if Captain

* Appendix E. which consists of extracts from a subsequent letter of Mr. Stern, throws much light upon the last brief sentences quoted above.

Cameron's letters to the Foreign Office were published, their contents would fully prove that the "always fresh and untoward event," Mr. Stern speaks of, belongs to that series of "strange and impolitic slights,"—as the writer in the "*Times*," alluded to* phrased it—with which the powers that be, in this country, had treated Theodoros. Moreover, that it was that series of "strange and impolitic slights," and *not* Mr. Stern's book, that has mainly contributed to the misfortunes which have befallen the English Missionaries, and other Europeans. As it is, we have only Earl Russell's dispatch to Her Britannic Majesty's Consul General in Egypt, dated "Foreign Office, October 5th, 1865," to go by. Let us see what we can make of that dispatch.

The document consists of forty-two paragraphs; I have numbered my copy accordingly.† Many of these paragraphs are scarcely relevant to the sad case, which gave occasion to its production. In the fourth paragraph we have a sort of an account of the beginning of friendly intercourse between England and Abyssinia. It purports to commence with the mission of Captain Harris, in 1841, to the king of Shoa. It should have commenced with Mr. Salt's mission, in 1798.

In the paragraphs 5-8, we are informed that "the ruler of Tigre, Ras Oobeay, or Ubie, called Ras of Abyssinia, sent Mr. Coffin, an English traveller, with a letter and presents to Her

* See p. 45.

† See Appendix F.

Majesty." "No reply, however, was returned to this letter, and Ras Ubie was thereupon so angry, that he threatened violence to Mr. Coffin, for not bringing him a return present from the Queen." Very irrevelant; except as regards the precedent furnished by the Foreign Office, for not answering friendly letters, and as an instance of failing to learn wisdom by experience.

In paragraphs 13-16, we are told of Theodoros' refusal to abide by the terms of the treaty concluded between England and Ras Ali, in 1849. Theodoros' autograph letter to Her Majesty disposes of the arguments advanced in that portion of the dispatch.*

The observation in paragraph 17, respecting "the short tenure of power in the Abyssinian Kings," is equally applicable to France, and yet—.

Paragraphs 20-21, whilst they contradict one another, contain a friendly hint for Egypt, that that power may encroach on Abyssinian territory with impunity.

Paragraphs 23-32, contain an elaborate explanation for permitting the Turks to seize the Abyssinian Church and Convent, at Jerusalem. The effect of the explanation is however neutralised by a few pointed remarks on it, by a correspondent in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.†

Paragraphs 33-35, are somewhat confused and involved, but they admit most distinctly, though the admission is most reluctantly and circuitously

* See pp. 42-43.

† See Note to Appendix F.

made, that the head and front of Captain Cameron's offence was the same as that of Mr. Coffin in 1841, i.e. the neglect on the part of the Foreign Office, to answer the Abyssinian autocrat's letter. The most telling admission, however, of the culpability of the Foreign Office, of the "strange and impolitic slights" with which the *Times* charges that department of the English Government, is furnished by the large present which Earl Russell ordered to be sent, by Mr. Rassam, to Emperor Theodoros, even FIVE HUNDRED stand of arms. It is true the thing was done very privately, most secretly, but the State-secret oozed out for all that. First, Mr. Rassam made a noise about the great number of camels which he required for his diplomatic expedition. Then Mr. Rassam's brother-in-law, in London, when questioned about the number of camels, thoughtlessly gave the true reason. And when, in the month of May, [1865], Lord Chelmsford, in the House of Peers, pointed out the discrepancy between Earl Russell's argument against a present being sent—namely that "the obvious inference would be, that the way to obtain consideration and respect from this country would be to imprison one of our Consuls"—and the fact of Earl Russell's order of the just named present; the [then] Foreign Secretary did not attempt to gainsay the fact. Nor was the pointed allusion to the circumstance, by Dr. Beke, in his letter to Earl Russell, dated "May 19. 1865,"—when that gentleman wrote that 'the transmission to Massowah of 500 stand

of arms as a ransom for Her Majesty's Consul, might, by some persons, and even by the Egyptian Government, be looked on as doing covertly what would be repudiated openly'—ever contradicted by the Foreign Office.

Paragraph 36, deserves to be quoted in *extenso*; here it is:—"There is no reason to suppose that Consul Cameron invited the Egyptian forces on the frontier, to commit aggressions on the territory of Abyssinia. It is far more probable, that the enemies of the British name in Abyssinia, should have infused unjust suspicions into the mind of the Emperor." So far, most reasonable; how is one to characterise the sequel of that paragraph? "But certainly Consul Cameron, in going to Bogos, *acted without orders, and incurred the displeasure of his own Government.*" Can Earl Russell have forgotten that Consul Plowden was praised, at the Foreign Office, for *exactly* a similar step in 1856, "*Without orders!!!*" The orders are plainly set forth in the letter of instructions, from his Lordship to Consul Cameron, dated "Foreign Office, February 2, 1861."* Can it be as Dr. Beke has hinted, that "Egypt in 1863, under the able and energetic rule of Ismail Pasha, when with a crop of 150 millions of pounds of cotton, was very different from Egypt in 1854, under Abbas Pasha, when the country was on the verge of ruin!"

It is earnestly to be hoped that this dispatch will never be interpreted to Emperor Theodoros; other-

* See Appendix C.

wise, woe betide the British captives in Abyssinia. His Majesty, with his quick perception, and keen suspicion, will certainly construe the last paragraphs 39-42, as encouraging Turkey and Egypt to make short work of Ethiopia. *

To the people of Reading,† the story of Captain Cameron's undeserved sufferings must be one of most pathetic interest. How the poor captive's anguish will be embittered when the mournful intelligence reaches him.

As regards the Christian Missionaries.—I have not the faintest doubt that their great sufferings will be over ruled for the promotion of the glory of Him whose ambassadors they are. The blood of Christian Martyrs has always proved the germ of a prolific harvest for the kingdom of God. The sufferings of Stern and Rosenthal will not prove an exception to the invariable rule of Grace and Providence. The Falashas in Abyssinia, as well as the Jews throughout the world—aye, Mohammedans and Pagans too,—must hear what Christian men can endure for their faith. Who can tell whether this, apparently inscrutable dispensation of Providence is not the beginning of a glorious reformation, a glorious

* Dr. Beke has addressed a critical analysis of the same dispatch to the "Times" Newspaper. The Editors of that journal, probably for lack of space, could not publish the Doctor's strictures in their column. A copy of the Doctor's letter has been put into the Author's hands, which he publishes as Appendix F.

† The Lecture was delivered at Reading within a few days after the funeral of Mrs. Cameron, the prisoner's mother, who died broken-hearted because of the harsh treatment which her captive son experienced, from the powers that be, at home and in Ethiopia.

future for Abyssinia. Far less significant beginnings have often proved the salvation of many a land and realm. Let any one read the wonderful story of the South American mission, and he will have an illustration of my meaning. "HOPE DEFERRED, BUT NOT LOST"* may be the title of a work, as regards Abyssinia, in connection with Christian Missions. The history of the reformation in our own country may also prove a case in point.

Had I been a diplomatist, I might have looked upon this untoward complication from a different point of view. I might have presaged the probable tactics of a neighbouring power, who, on beholding the exasperated fury into which this country has goaded the Emperor of Abyssinia, will sooner or later make an opportunity for currying favour with the slighted and insulted Sovereign. Then that power, when it saw fit to invade Egypt again, it could count upon Abyssinia's good will for itself, and her implacable hostility towards the country which had disdained and spurned her. Oh, that my words were winged!—I would direct their flight to the ears of every loyal, patriotic, and Christian statesman in this land; yea to Houses of Parliament themselves when in full conclave! But I am no diplomatist, I forbear therefore to deal with the question as Politicians will no doubt do, at the ensuing session.

* Such is the title of a most interesting little work, which furnishes "a narrative of Missionary effort in South America, in connection with the Patagonian Missionary Society. Edited by the Rev. George Packenham Despard, B.A." In which the early conflicts and failures of that, now flourishing, Mission are set forth.

I am simply a humble Christian Minister, and deal with the question as an unsophisticated believer in God's Holy Word. That Word assures me that it is the Almighty's prerogative to make good come out of evil; to make the wrath of man subservient to His praise. I believe those prerogatives will be most luminously illustrated, by, the now melancholy clouds which darken the horizon of Abyssinia.

I am solicitous of enlisting your christian sympathy, your generous co-operation, your benevolent aid, your liberal contributions in behalf of the fund now being raised for the liberation of the imprisoned captives. Fellow Christians! let us afford an opportunity to the Emperor of Abyssinia to judge of our religion—not by the unconcern and indifference with which our Government treat the imprisonment of our Missionaries and Consul—but by our brotherly and anxious solieitude for the release of our Christian Missionaries, and Christian Consul. Dr. Beke, by his mission, will furnish Theodoros with that opportunity. The principle of that heroic gentleman's procedure, he has thus given in a letter, to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, date October 19th, 1865:—

“My mission not being at all of a diplomatic character, I do not think of taking on myself the arrangement of the political differences between Abyssinia and England. Consequently I should not in the slightest degree interfere with anything that Mr. Rassam may have received instructions from Government to perform. My intention is to approach

the Sovereign of Abyssinia as a suppliant on behalf of the distressed relatives of the captives, and to appeal to him as a Christian prince and father.*

"From the light in which the Emperor Theodoros is generally regarded in this country, it may seem absurd to speak of him otherwise than as a brutal tyrant and barbarian. Without thinking of justifying or even extenuating his conduct towards our unfortunate countrymen, I may draw attention to the fact that in countries very much nearer home than Abyssinia, political and other offenders have been, and indeed still are, treated scarcely less cruelly than Consul Cameron and his fellow sufferers. I have just been reading in the number of *All the Year Round* for June 10 last, of some recent occurrences in civilized Saxony which might not unfairly be placed side by side with those in "savage" Ethiopia.

"As to Theodoros himself, in spite of all that may with perfect truth be said against him, he is not only amenable to reason, but is often actuated by the noblest and kindest sentiments. Of this we have the

* Some of Bishop Gobat's admirers have rashly named that prelate as a fit and proper person to go and plead the cause of poor Stern and Rosenthal. Dr. Gobat might well exclaim, "Save me from my friends!" Modern Jerusalem's "right reverend father in God" has a Rosenthal of his own to answer for, whose youngest son, a cripple, has just perished of starvation; the merciful Bishop assured the poor lad, when he supplicated relief, that he would give him none, even if he perished of starvation in the streets. Conscience must long since have turned Simeon Rosenthal's relentless persecutor into a coward. The wrongs of the Jerusalem victim Rosenthal, are as widely known as those of the Abyssinian victim Rosenthal. We can easily imagine the colloquy between Bishop Gobat and Emperor Theodoros:—*Bishop*.—"Brother, let me pull out the mote out of thine eye. Pity the sorrows of the poor Missionaries Stern, Rosenthal, and their families!" *Emperor*.—"Brother, consider first the beam that is in thine own eye. Hast thou tempered judgment with mercy? Hast thou pitied the sorrows of the poor Rosenthals of thine own flock? Send some one else to plead for mercy, Ahoo Samuel!"

testimony of Mr. Stern himself in his unfortunate printed work, which furnished one of the grounds of accusation against him; of M. Lejean, in his able and well-known article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*; of Mr. Hausmann, the Missionary, who brought the first news of the imprisonment of the captives, and who, in *Christian Work* for May, 1864, ascribes to him "a kingly character in the best sense of the expression;" of Consul Cameron himself, who in a letter from which an extract was given by me in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of August 4 last, says of Theodoros, "*He is a fine fellow*, but does not understand foreign politics or foreign manners." And, lastly, the more recent letters from the captive Missionaries, written during their imprisonment, show that on several occasions he was inclined to liberate them; and in particular, Mr. Rosenthal relates how, on February 19, 1865, "the king asked something of Mr. Stern in reference to the Bible, which I (Rosenthal) happened to answer, and being thus informed, he gave immediate orders for the opening of my chains."

"Without intending, therefore, any disrespect to Her Majesty's Government, or to Mr. Rassam, or any other diplomatic agent they may employ, I cannot but entertain a deeply rooted conviction, based on the facts thus stated, and on my own knowledge of the character of the Abyssinians as well as of their sovereign, that my independent attempt to obtain the release of the captives, by a process entirely different from that hitherto employed has every reasonable prospect of success; and when it is considered that

up to the present moment all that has been attempted diplomatically has proved fruitless, it may at least be, that my undertaking will have the beneficial effect of aiding Mr. Rassam in bringing his labours to a satisfactory conclusion.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

“CHARLES BEKE.”

It will not be the first time, in the annals of the world, that the members of the Church of God have been instrumental in averting a disastrous calamity which an impolitic Cabinet invoked. Come then, one and all, to the help of the crying cause. It cannot be carried out without considerable pecuniary outlays. Dr. Beke has generously and benevolently placed his valuable time and great energy at the disposal of the Committee of that fund. Full of faith in his countrymen's Christian benevolence, he has already set out for Gondar, though the required sum is far, far more than that which has yet been raised. Let the brave man have no cause to complain that he has misplaced his confidence.

Let me, in conclusion, ask you for a cordial and heartfelt interest in your most devout prayers, in behalf of the captives, as well as for the man, who has gone forth, with his life in his hands, to plead for their deliverance.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

PAGE 16.

I might have indulged in an ominous array of the different translations, and interpretations, that have been palmed upon the four original words,

הוי ארץ צלצל כנפים :

I shall, however, name the two most ancient ones, the parents of a numerous progeny of mis-translations and mis-interpretations.

I. SEPTUAGINT.—“Ah! wings of the land of ships.” Why thus paraphrased, no Hebrew power on earth can tell.

II. JONATHAN'S CHALDEE TARGUM.—“Woe to the land in which they come in ships from a distant country, and whose sails are spread out as an eagle which flies with his wings over against the rivers of India.” Upon which Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac, or, as he is known amongst the Jews, RASHI, the great Hebrew Grammarian and Commentator of the thirteenth century, courageously remarks, “But I say, because they, (the inhabitants of that land), dwell in the east, and the climate of the land is warm, the feathered tribes congregate there, and the country becomes over-shadowed by the wings of birds. And this prophecy has

reference to the armies of Gog and Magog." What an arbitrary translation! What a fanciful interpretation! exclaims the careful and intelligent Critic. Not a whit more arbitrary and fanciful than those translations and interpretations of unripe scholars of modern date. Dr. Benisch whimsically translates the four original words, by "land of the whizzing wings." Dr. Cumming, copying Bishop Horsley, Mr. Chamberlain, and others, maintains, with that tenacity peculiar to uncritical minds, that the words, "land shadowing with wings," mean a maritime nation, and that nation is meant to be Great Britain.*

Two great men, however, have approached somewhat nearer than all the rest of Biblical Expositors to the idea and purport of the land implied by Isaiah though they did not exactly apprehend the precise meaning of his words. I mean Grotius and Vitringa. The former considers the burden of the address to be made respecting Ethiopia, as being bounded by mountains and hills. The latter makes Egypt to be the theme of Isaiah's eighteenth chapter, because Egypt being a nation under whose wings the Israelites sought shelter. The correct meaning of the word which has been rendered by our translators "shadowing," first occurred to me whilst annotating on Deut. xxviii. 42. "All thy trees and the fruit of thy land shall the *Tsaltsal* consume." Exactly the same word as in Isaiah xviii. 1. Had our translators known the little insect *Tsaltsalya*, or *Tsetse* of Africa, they would not have rendered the word *Tsaltsal* by the word "locust" in Deut. xxviii. 42; nor by the word "shadowing" in Isaiah xviii. 1.

Instead of indulging in a description of my own touching

* I own that in my younger days, when my travels were not so extensive as they have been for the last score of years, when my experience was less versatile, and my reading more circumscribed than it now is, I espoused the self-same translation and interpretation, of which I am now ashamed, and am thankful for the courage to confess it.

the insect under review, I prefer giving BRUCE's account of it, to be found in his fifth volume, published in 1790.*

"TSALTSALYA, or FLY. The insect which we have here before us is a proof how fallacious it is to judge by appearances. If we consider its small size, its weakness, want of variety or beauty, nothing in creation is more contemptible and insignificant. Yet, passing from these to his history, and the amount of his powers, we must confess the very great injustice we do him from want of consideration. We are obliged, with the greatest surprise, to acknowledge that those huge animals, the elephant, the rhinoceros, the lion and tiger, inhabiting the same woods, are still vastly his inferiors, and that the appearance of this small insect, nay, his very sound (which, most probably, is the origin of his name, TSALTSAL, or TSALTSALYA), though he is not seen, occasions more trepidation, movement, and disorder, both in the human and brute creation, than would whole herds of these monstrous animals collected together, though their number was in a tenfold proportion greater than it really is.

"The necessity of keeping my narrative clear and intelligible as I proceeded, has made me anticipate the principal particularities relating to this insect. *His operations are too materially interwoven with the history of this country to be left apart as an episode.* . . . Providence, from the beginning, it would seem, had fixed its habitation to one species of soil, being a black fat earth, extraordinarily fruitful; and small and inconsiderable as it was, it seems from the first to have given a law to the settlement of the country. It prohibited, absolutely, those inhabitants of the fat earth, called Mazaga, domiciled in caves and mountains from enjoying the help or labour of any beast of carriage. It deprived them of their flesh and milk for food, and gave

* Select Specimens of Natural History, collected in Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, in Egypt, Arabia, Abyssinia, and Nubia.

rise to another nation, whose manners are just the reverse of the first. These were the Shepherds, leading a wandering life, and preserving these immense herds of cattle by conducting them into the sands beyond the limits of the black earth, and bringing them back again when the danger from this insect was over.

"We cannot read the history of the plagues which God brought upon Pharaoh by the hand of Moses without stopping a moment to consider a singularity, a very principal one, which attended this plague of the fly. It was not till this time, and by means of this insect, that God said he would separate His people from the Egyptians. And it would seem that then a law was given to them that fixed the limits of their habitation. It is well known, as I have repeatedly said, that the land of Goshen, or Geshen, the possession of the Israelites, was a land of pasture, which was not tilled or sown, because it was not overflowed by the Nile. But the land overflowed by the Nile was the black earth of the valley of Egypt, and it was there that God confined the flies; for He says, it shall be a sign of this separation of the people, which He had then made, that not one fly should be seen in the sand or pasture ground, the land of Goshen; and this kind of soil has ever since been the refuge of cattle emigrating from the black earth to the lower part of Atbara.

"The Chaldee version is content with calling this animal Zebub, which signifies the fly in general, as we express it in English. The Arabs call it Zimb in their translation, which has the same general signification. The Ethiopic translation called it TSALTSALYA, which is the true name of this particular fly in Geez, and the same in Hebrew.

* * * * *

"I do not know that this insect, however remarkable for

its activity and numbers, has ever before been described or delineated."

Can there be a doubt as to the insect which Moses meant by the appellation TSALTSAL? Certainly not! He meant none other than the TSALTSALYA, which the Israelites well knew to be one of the most fearful scourges that could be inflicted upon a nation. Our translators followed in the footsteps of uncertain guides, when they rendered the word *locust*. There can be no doubt that the Abyssinian traveller made a very good and an accurate hit, when he said:—vol. 1 p. 390. † — "Of all those that have written upon these countries, the prophet Isaiah alone has given an account of this animal, and the manner of its operation. Isaiah vii. 18, 19. "And it shall come to pass, in that day, that the Lord shall hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt. . . . And they shall come and rest all of them in the desolate vallies, and in the holes of the rocks, and upon all thorns, and upon all bushes."

Surely "the fly that is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt," is the same as the menacing TSALTSAL of Deut. xxviii. 42.

The winged TSALTSAL was then the great distinguishing feature of the extreme part of Egypt, now known as Abyssinia! Now then have I obtained the purport of the opening chapter of Isaiah xviii. 1.

"Ho! land of the winged TSALTSAL,
Which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia!"

In other words, "Ho! land of that fly, which is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt." Every African traveller, and well informed student, knows that the region south of Egypt—the Cush, or Ethiopia, of Scripture—is a

* The naturalist will find much in Bruce's work to interest him, in connection with the TSALTSALYA. Insignificant as the insect seems to be, it yet deserves an attentive examination and analysis.

† The edition of 1790. Edinburgh.

land of rivers, and that all those on the north side are the sources of the Nile. The mountains of Ethiopia are, in fact, the water treasuries of the African Continent.

Had the intelligent Scot thought of Isaiah xviii. 1, at the same time that he quoted the seventh chapter of that Prophet, he would have exulted in the illustration, which the later, as well as the earlier chapter, received from the terrible TSALTSAL. He would have exclaimed triumphantly:—"The region which Isaiah calls, in the seventh chapter 'the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt,' he calls in the eighteenth 'The land, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia.' Moreover the insect which he calls in the former 'fly,' he calls in the latter TSALTSAL! The winged TSALTSAL spreads, in its season of depredation, as far as Melinda and Cape Gardefan.

B.

PAGE 40.

The reader may form some idea of Mr. Stern and his work, by perusing the following extracts from the speech alluded to:—

"Not quite a month ago I returned from Abyssinia, a country in which there are at least 250,000 Jews, whose conversion I prayerfully believe will prove the greatest blessing to central Africa; and yet, notwithstanding the hopeful aspect of the field, and the cheering prospect it unfolds, till within the last two years the Jew in that benighted land could truly, in the agony of his upbraiding and troubled conscience, exclaim, "No man careth for my soul." Many

were the difficulties which opposed our progress ; we had to traverse unsightly deserts and dreary wilds, steaming malarious swamps, and thick, impenetrable jungles, yet notwithstanding all these obstacles which affected our health and undermined our energies, we pressed on in our journey, and in safety reached the land towards which our wandering steps had been directed. Here we thought that our difficulties were now at an end, and all our obstacles removed, and that without let or hindrance we might go from place to place, and proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ's Gospel : but our hopes and expectations were destined to be most grievously disappointed. Religious toleration we discovered was not yet introduced into Abyssinia, and favourable as the king showed himself to us personally, he would not give his approval to our mission without the previous assent of the Aboona, or Metropolitan. But despite all these unfavourable circumstances, we did not despair or lose our confidence, we saw that a great work was here to be accomplished, and a great conquest achieved, and without troubling ourselves how we should succeed in gaining the countenance of the King, or the approbation of the Primate, we committed our cause into the hand of the God of Missions, and to our joy and gratitude found that our very obstacles subserved the very object which had prompted us to make that exhausting journey, and helped to further the proclamation of the Gospel through many provinces of that benighted land. The Jews, with a suspicion and apprehension natural to a secluded and semi-barbarous people, when they heard of our arrival and the design we had in view, almost unitedly resolved not to have any intercourse or communication with men who avowedly came to wean them from the worship of the God of Israel to the worship of the senseless idols of the Abyssinian Church ; but when they heard that we had to encounter some opposition from the Metropolitan, and

that many priests declared that our creed as widely differed from their own, as that of the Falashas from that of the Abyssinians, curiosity became excited, sympathy was enlisted, and everywhere an anxiety awakened to hear these strangers, whom a pure desire to preach the truth contained in God's Word had impelled to make such a long and weary journey. The very first place which we visited verified our anticipations. There are near and around Gondar, the capital of western Abyssinia, a great number of Jewish settlements; these we visited in regular succession. At first, indeed, I was a little disappointed, when, instead of the synagogues in which I had so often preached in Arabia and Turkey, I had merely a shady tree or sheltering rock assigned for the place of meeting. This reserve, however, on the part of the Falashas, or Jews, arose not from a desire to prevent our preaching, or the people from collecting around us. You may perhaps not be aware that the Jews in Abyssinia strictly adhere to the Levitical law; they have their high priest, inferior priests, sacrifices, and every other rite and institution contained in the Pentateuch, and it was entirely owing to these Mosaic observances that they excluded us from their Mesquids, or places of worship. But these open-air assemblies were in general so devout, so solemn, and so impressive, that I can assure you, that if I could only succeed everywhere in obtaining such audiences, I should prefer the shady forest or the green field as a place for preaching, to the noblest hall or most stately cathedral. * * *

"In a village south-east of Gondar, where we had been speaking for some time on our Lord's humanity, sufferings, and death, that sin might be cancelled and the sinner's guilt be expiated, one old woman became so deeply affected that suddenly she smote on her breast, and with tears streaming down her wan cheeks, she repeatedly, in the presence of all, ejaculated, " Oh, how great is our guilt ! that we reject love

so divine, and despise blood so precious!" I informed them that Mr. Bronkhorst would probably remain in the country and devote himself to their spiritual welfare. This so delighted them that when we took our leave, for a considerable distance down the mountain, their blessings and good wishes reverberated on our ears from many a rock and overhanging cliff. In another settlement near the capital, where we had a large audience, the people, after listening to a sermon that might have exhausted the patience of many a Christian congregation, spontaneously exclaimed, "You tell us good words, and God hath evidently sent you to teach us the right path." Such and similar pathetic sentiments continually rung in our ears, and I am certain that whatever the future results may be, (and I believe they will in God's own appointed time prove nothing less than the conversion of the whole remnant of Israel in Habesh,) the finger of Providence directed our steps to that country, and the Spirit of God prepared their hearts for the reception of the blessed Gospel. In our visit to Abou Maharee, one of the three great chiefs of the Falashas, we anticipated great opposition and even hostility to a work which all understood to be of such a character, that if it triumphed over their superstition, it must also sweep away the power of their priestly caste. To our delight, the high priest, with more than forty subordinates, and perhaps double the number of the common people, welcomed us with a cordiality and kindness that was truly gratifying. There was something imposing and majestic in the appearance of this chief, which one could not behold without admiration and reverence. He is about sixty years of age, of a noble and commanding figure, high and expressive forehead, melancholy and restless eyes, and a countenance, no doubt, once mild and pleasing, but to which self-imposed penances, and a repulsive practice, have imparted an expression most strange and unearthly. Myself

and companions simultaneously rose as he and his followers, in a well-ordered procession, approached, a compliment which all gratefully acknowledged; and then, as if by previous arrangement, the multitude squatted down on the right and left of the natural bower in which we had made our retreat, leaving a broad space as the rubicon between the polluted people and their holy priests. The severed multitude, in perfect bewilderment and wonder, stared at us with a stern, grave, and unmoved gaze, as if they wanted to penetrate our very thoughts, and to read in our very looks their hope or despair, joy or sorrow. There sat the old monk, macerated and wan, with the brown skin hanging in loose folds around his wasted features, and eyes sunk and lustreless from long mortification, or bright and sparkling with the mad fire of fanaticism. Close to this spectral-like appearance, as if seeking hope and comfort from mature age and sinking life, reclined the young novice, in whose placid and unnaturally smooth face, the struggles of painful superstition, and perhaps the horrid consciousness that life with its attractions and ties had all been bartered for a disordered dream and a wild feverish fancy, were too glaringly traceable. The other group, among whom we noticed a good sprinkling of women, offered a strange contrast by their healthy looks and smiling expressions, to those mutilated, perturbed and unhappy-looking priests. It is true there was scarcely one in that assembly who had any doubt that these priests were self-denying and good men, who had renounced the world and all its fascinations for a life of devotion and piety, yet there seemed, as if by a general sympathy, some secret apprehension, some latent fear, that, after all, those proud and secluded anchorites might be in error, and might, instead of the substance, be grasping a shadow, and instead of revealed truth, be clinging to a mere self-created fancy. In mere conformity with Abyssinian etiquette, that a stranger should

honour a chief or noble with a present, I gave to Aboo Maharee a gilt-edged Bible, and a white dress, which, as he could not accept it from my polluted hand, he received in a bag of one of the priests. He was exceedingly pleased with this token of my regard, and after many elaborate thanks all rose, and, with much fervour and devotion, uttered an earnest prayer for my safety, and happiness. It was a moving sight to see such a vast number of priests and people, all with uncovered heads, supplicating the Divine blessing on the lonely and isolated Missionary. Many minutes elapsed before the effect of this unexpected scene had subsided, and then when all had again resumed their position, we expressed our gratitude for their reception, and assured them that our only desire in coming to them was to teach them the Word of God and to bring them to the knowledge of a Saviour. They unanimously expressed a desire to hear the essential truths of our faith, a request which we amply satisfied. Many candidly confessed that our words were an echo of Moses and David, (the portions of Scripture most read by them) and that they would be delighted to have us frequently amongst them, to consider, and to discuss with them, these solemn and important subjects. Aboo Maharee, himself, in a faltering and tremulous voice, said to me, "either you will become one of us, or I shall become one of you." This worthy chief, to convince us of his interest in our mission, ordered a learned Falasha-Debterah to conduct us to all the Jewish settlements, and to request the people in his name to welcome us as friends, and to listen to our instruction as teachers. This interview with Aboo Maharee produced a deep and favourable impression on all the Jews, and wherever we came, the report had already preceded us, that we were Falashas who had come from beyond Jerusalem with a great quantity of Scriptures. Thus did the Lord turn the hearts of that people, and dispose them to receive

the message of God's love and the Redeemer's Sacrifice. In some places, and particularly at Genda, where our Missionaries are at present settled, three of the most learned Falashas whom we met with in the whole country, expressed their conviction of the truth of Christianity, and their desire to be baptized. Time would not allow me to traverse with you all the districts and provinces I visited, but this I can truly say, that my missionary tour through Abyssinia, notwithstanding the troubles and difficulties which we had to encounter—notwithstanding the many dangers and trials we had continually to submit to—notwithstanding that we were often reduced to circumstances which, I believe, would have excited the compassion and sympathy of a guardian of one of your workhouses, or of the superintendent of one of your refuges, so much were we reduced as regards external appearances—that the journey, from the causes I have specified, was one of uninterrupted delight and continual joy. Frequently we visited three and four settlements in a day, and everywhere the woman, busy in her hut, and the peasant, working in his field, left the plough and the grinding-stone to hear the white messengers of the Cross. Some men followed us for days and days over mountains and valleys, through deep ravines and over rocky cliffs, and when we inquired why they accompanied us, the reply invariably was, "We want to know more of the Redeemer of Israel, whom you proclaim." The desire to possess the written Word was quite equal to the desire to hear the preached Word. I might advert to several instances, where men had come from Quara and Semien, the lowest and the highest lands in Abyssinia, to get a copy of God's Word for their community, and as, in many instances, the limited stock which we could carry did not permit us to satisfy the demand of every applicant, men far advanced in life, and whose hardened features had never been moistened by a tear, sad and mourn-

ful, squatted down near our tent, weeping and sobbing as if their hearts would break. One man, who had come to Genda from a distance of several days' journey, on his arrival found that we were gone. Nothing daunted, he took his staff and followed our track to Chamara, two days further, and there, when he met us, he naively said, "The God of Israel sent Moses to teach us, and to communicate his Word; now, as you tread in the steps of Moses, you will, I am sure, not excite our desire for light and then leave us, without God's Word, to grope in the dark." Another, and he was a priest, said, "I visited Chamara on some business, and just wanted to depart, when I heard you were coming. Well, thought I, these men love the Falashas, and are interested in their welfare, the God of Israel may therefore dispose them to give me a Bible for my people. I then went to your tent, but the crowd was so great in and about it, that I could not gain access to you. The next day I heard you preach, and again on the day following, I listened to a lengthened discussion. Many afterwards got Bibles, but though I entreated most earnestly, God evidently did not dispose your heart to grant my request. Now, this morning, my hopes are again disappointed, but as I am accustomed to walk, you will allow me to follow you till God disposes your heart to yield to my prayer." Such, and similar language, we heard almost daily, and although we were unable to satisfy the importunate demands of all, yet I blessed God for having excited this spirit of enquiry—this yearning desire after His own life-giving Word. * * * * I say that England, if she is desirous, and no one doubts it, to arrest the progress of slavery, and to advance the happiness and well-being of a degraded people, and a sin-polluted land, let her not forget that an all-wise Providence has preserved Abyssinia's Christian name, in the midst of Pagan tribes, and Mohammedan conquerors, for some great and glorious purpose.

Even during my stay in that country, I was amazed at the excitement created by our preaching, throughout the various provinces we visited. Frequently, hundreds of Christians and Jews would meet together near our tent, and with the Word of God in their hands, canvass and investigate those truths which we had been preaching. Let the Falashas therefore be brought around the Cross of the Redeemer, and you have a Missionary tribe to move the stagnant waters of unbelief and superstition in the Abyssinian Church; aye, throughout the length and breadth of that blood and crime-stained Continent, you, by your prayers and contributions, may more efficiently aid in the emancipation of Africa, as well as in the accomplishment of the Divine promise, "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God," than the Government, by its yearly expenditure of many millions." —*Jewish Intelligence*, June 1861.

C.

PAGES 45, 62.

The following stands at the head of the papers "Presented to the House of Lords by command of Her Majesty, in pursuance of *their (sic)* Address dated, May 23, 1865."

"1. Copy of instructions to Captain Cameron, British Consul at Massowah, upon his proceeding to his Consulate,

and a list of the presents which he was ordered to deliver to the king of Abyssinia."

"No. 1.

"EARL RUSSELL TO CONSUL CAMERON.

Foreign Office, *February 2, 1861.*

"Sir,—Your first duty on arriving at Massowah, which you will consider as the head quarter of your Consulate, will be to make yourself acquainted with the general state of political affairs in Abyssinia.

"Her Majesty's Government are so imperfectly informed in regard to what may have happened in that country since the death of your predecessor, that I am unable to lay down any very precise rules for the guidance of your conduct. The civil war which prevailed at that time may have been brought to a conclusion, decidedly favourable to one or other of the contending parties, or it may still prevail with the alternate success of either.

"It seems to Her Majesty's Government undesirable that you should avow yourself the partizan of either of the contending parties, if the contest is still going on. Whatever interest Her Majesty's Government may have in Abyssinia, can best be advanced by the tranquillity of the country; but if the British Agent becomes the partizan of one side, the rivalry of European interests, which, however disavowed by the Governments of Europe, is almost invariably found to exist on the part of their Agents in such countries as Abyssinia, will stimulate Foreign Agents to declare a partizanship for the other, and thus a civil contest will be promoted and encouraged, which would otherwise die out of itself, or very shortly be brought to a conclusion by the decided preponderance of a victorious party.

"The principles, therefore, on which you should act, are —abstinence from any course of proceeding by which a

preference for either party should be imputable to you; abstinence from all intrigues to set up an exclusive British influence in Abyssinia; and lastly, the promotion of amicable arrangements between the rival candidates for power.

“Her Majesty’s Government are aware that religious rivalry has contributed its share to promote dissension in Abyssinia, but such rivalry should receive no countenance from a British Agent; on the contrary, his study should be to extend, as far as possible, religious toleration of all christian sects, as being most consistent with the doctrines of christianity and with sound policy. The British Government claim no authority to set up or advocate in a Foreign country one sect of christianity in preference to another; all that they would urge upon the rulers of any such country is to show equal favour and toleration to the profession of all Christian sects.

“But although it is not desirable that you should engage in a contest with the Agent of any other power for superiority of influence, or that you should openly exhibit suspicion or jealousy of his proceedings, or of the influence which he may be supposed to have acquired, it will be your duty closely to watch any proceedings which may tend to alter the state of possession either on the sea-coast or in the interior of the country, and you will keep Her Majesty’s Government at home, and Her Majesty’s Governor-General of India, fully informed of all matters of interest which may come under your observation, sending your despatches under flying seal in the one case through Her Majesty’s Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, and in the other through the Political Agent at Aden.

“In addition to matters of a political or commercial nature, you will pay a particular attention to any traffic in Slaves which may be carried on within your district, and report fully upon the same; and you will further avail your-

self of any suitable opportunity to impress upon any native Rulers who may directly or indirectly encourage or permit such a traffic, the abhorrence in which it is held by the British Government, and the dislike with which any parties who may have recourse to it are likely to be regarded in this country.

" I am, &c.,

(Signed)

" RUSSELL."

D.

PAGE 46.

The substance of Mr. Stern's last letter, previous to his imprisonment, addressed to his employers, is so suggestive, it may be said so prophetic, that it deserves to be read in connection with his captivity. Let us trust that as his forebodings came to pass, so will his anticipations be realized.

"In reference to our Mission, the hopes of extensive usefulness which I expressed on my former visit, notwithstanding the invidious criticism to which some subjected my statements, are at present, if not quite verified, far more promising than I then ventured to anticipate.* We have already a pious

* Poor Stern alludes here to the stubborn and humiliating fact, that whilst large capital was made of his speeches and sermons about Abyssinia, the speaker and the preacher was, at the same time, *whisperingly* denounced by the *stipendiary* "friends of Israel," as untrustworthy. A

band of Jewish proselytes, who boldly profess their unfeigned love to the Redeemer; and a vast number more are studying the sacred Scriptures, in order to come to the knowledge of that truth which others have found to be the sole remedy for the troubled and anxious soul. Most of our converts reside in and near Genda. To this they were prompted by the desire of enjoying the advantage of Christian intercourse, and also of regular religious meetings on the Sabbath and other occasions on the mission premises. The worship simply consists of reading some collects out of our Liturgy, and in expounding a passage of Scripture. After divine service, the children of believing and unbelieving Falashas are catechised, and then an extemporaneous prayer concludes these deeply interesting gatherings. Last Sunday, perhaps on account of the arrival of a stranger, the large circular hut was filled to the extreme with men, women, and children, and I confess, that the devout, solemn, and reverend deportment of all, made a lasting impression on my mind. The Abyssinian Church, in which our converts were obliged to be baptized, they unanimously abhor, and whenever the oppor-

Clerical brother, who takes an engrossing interest in promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, called at the office of the Jews' Society, and asked that Mr. Stern might be sent to his Parish as deputation, for his next auxiliary anniversary in connection with that Association. One of the well-paid Secretaries replied, "The worst is that you can not believe a word Stern says on the platform; as a friend, I warn you against the truthfulness of his statements." Well might the genuine amateur "friend of Israel" exclaim, "Even his brethren do not believe in him! the Secretaries of the Jews' Society *dear-brothered* Stern in their *Intelligence*, their *Report*, in the *Pulpit*, and on the *Platform*, yet they *whisper* distrust in all he says." I have learnt from members of Mr. Stern's family, that the poor Missionary heard of all those whisperings, which pierced his very soul; hence the above allusion to the bitterness of his cup.

Another humiliating circumstance came to my knowledge. When His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, sent for Bishop Gobat's *quondam fac totum*, to explain some complicated manoeuvres of the Bishop of Jerusalem, with reference to the Missionary captives in Abyssinia, the *fac totum* wrote to a Hebrew Clergyman, once a fellow-labourer of Stern's at Constantinople, to furnish him, in writing, with some particulars to Stern's prejudice and discredit, which he might show to the Primate. A friend of Israel of the truest stamp, writes to me, "Stern has been traduced as a liar and everything unworthy, in order to weaken the interest in influential quarters."

tunity occurs, they fearlessly avow their sentiments. Many of the native Christian ecclesiastics recognize in the bold confessions of these Jewish proselytes, the plain truths of the Gospel; and did they not prefer an unprofitable, intolerant existence, to every nobler aspiration, our efforts among the Falashas might, under God's blessing, ere long effect a reform in the Church of the Amharas. As an illustration of this, I will, *en passant*, advert to a recent incident. The Aliga, or Archdeacon of the church of Genda, was importuned by his subordinates to discuss certain articles of faith with a member of our mission. At first he was inclined to yield to their solicitation, but upon more mature reflection, instead of a challenge, he sent the following candid message:—"I will not argue nor dispute with you on matters of our respective creeds; I know that you are right and we are wrong; that you adhere to the dictates of the Gospel, and we to the customs of our fathers."

"Our work in this sin-polluted country is plain and obvious. Ignorance, delusion, and idolatry, may now and then be denounced, but the grand truth we have to proclaim, is the message of redeeming love, revealed in the incarnation, life and death of the Son of God. This has been successfully done in the province where our mission is located, and I have already engaged four zealous proselytes to carry the same tidings to places hitherto, on account of their remoteness, inaccessible to our agents. On their return from a tour, they will rehearse what they have done, and then continue a week or fortnight with their families, during which period they must avail themselves of the opportunity to receive instruction from the Missionaries, ere they set out again on their glorious errand. Should eligible spheres of usefulness offer themselves, which I do not doubt, one are two will be permanently located there, till men of energy and devotion can be found to form new stations. * * * * *

"The schools constitute another important branch of our labours. Till now, as you may perhaps be aware, only those among the Falashas and Christians, who devote themselves to the service of their places of worship, or the office of debtarah, were obliged to undertake the onerous task of acquiring a knowledge of the Amharic, and, if they were a little more ambitious, of the sacred Ethiopic. The common people seldom, if ever, formed an acquaintance with the letters of the Alphabet. They offered sacrifices, performed certain religious rites, endured frequent self-inflicted penances, and, being descendants of Abraham, flattered themselves that they were a holy race, and the favourites of heaven. Our unexpected arrival in the midst of them, dispelled this fanciful illusion, and awakened much serious inquiry. The universal ignorance, however, formed a great barrier to the search after truth. Our offer to establish schools met the widely felt want. Young and old availed themselves of the opportunity to learn to read; and now in places where recently not one could be found able to distinguish A from B, there are several well acquainted with the sacred volume, and labouring most indefatigably for the mental and spiritual welfare of their co-religionists. The greatest obstacle to our own educational efforts, is the want of pious and qualified teachers. Five boys, who for more than a year have enjoyed the benefits of a regular training under the care of Mr. Flad, we intend to devote to this work. Unfortunately this number is inadequate to the vast extent of the field, and we must therefore, as soon as huts can be built, add fifteen more. The expense of educating twenty teachers will not exceed fifty pounds per annum. * * * *

"In reading the above, the question will naturally suggest itself,—Is the field, thus accessible to the spiritual husbandman, numerically large enough to warrant an expenditure of life, time, money, and energies, in its cultivation? To this

query, I give an unqualified affirmative. Compared with Poland, Germany, or even European Turkey, the Jewish population in Abyssinia is small, and very much dispersed; yet no apprehension need to be entertained that we are toiling for an insignificant and languishing remnant of an exiled race. According to the estimate I carefully formed on my first visit, I came to the conclusion, that the Jews scattered over the Alpine regions of Africa, exceed six times the sum total of that people in the limited kingdom of Great Britain; but Mr. Flad, who, with the assistance of natives, has endeavoured to gain the most reliable statistics, rates the number much higher. The provinces in which they reside, are Tigré, Woggera, Armatgioho, Walkeih, Tschelga, Dembea, and Buara. In this latter province, the vernacular tongue is that spoken by the Falashas,—one of the most striking proofs that the Jews there constitute a numerous and influential body. Our own labours have till now been almost exclusively confined to Dembea and a part of Tschelga; but even on this limited territory, I have been assured that there are more than fifty thousand Falashas. Thus this field, whether we consider the multitude of souls entrusted to our care, or the willing disposition of the people to listen to what we have to say, constitute a scene of intense and unabating interest. Difficulties and troubles may be looming in the horizon of our Missionary sphere; the slumbering demon of intolerance may be roused to exert his baneful power; a fiery furnace of persecution may test the faith of our converts; still, if we persevere in prayer and unfeigned trust in the promises of our God, I believe that not only the Falashas, but the Abyssinian Church itself, and millions of degraded pagan Gallas, will yet ascribe their enfranchisement from error, corruption, and idolatry, to the operations and influence of our mission.

“The political state of the country is just now exceedingly

critical. Conspiracies among the chiefs, and discontent among the people, have excited the king to a state almost bordering on frenzy, and pitiless acts of tyranny are daily perpetrated by his orders. Formerly, the despots' insatiable ambition and fiery passions were in some measure tempered by religious scruples, and a humble reverence for God's Word. The army and nation regarded him as a superior being, chosen to restore peace and prosperity to a bleeding and distracted empire. His moral rectitude, and the spotless purity of his life, confirmed this general impression, and king Theodoros was the idol of his subjects, and the invulnerable hero of the troops. This illusion his present course of life has dispelled; and it will be his wisdom to retrieve past mistakes, and to avoid past errors. I have not yet seen the Monarch, who is at present on the confines of Godjam, but probably on the return of my messenger, I shall receive a summons to repair to the camp. Towards our work he has of late been very friendly, and if our fervent prayers for him are heard on high, he will, before long, return to the path of exemplary virtue, from which he has so sadly departed.

"The Aboona, or Metropolitan, whom I am very anxious to see, is again, as on my first visit, at Magdala, on the outskirts of the Wollo Galla country. His governors in Tigré, where he has extensive possessions, accorded me the most friendly reception. At Gondar, I stayed a few days in the Archiepiscopal palace. Aboona Joseph, the confessor of His Grace, who was then in the capital, showed me the greatest hospitality. I always regarded this ecclesiastic as an opponent to us and our mission, but his sedulous attention to my wants, removed the distrust which I always harboured towards him. The big churchman, I was told by Muallim Daood, a Copt in the service of the Archbishop, felt quite indignant that the inhabitants of Kudas Gabriel,

the Aboona's quarter, were not equally liberal in their hospitality towards me, and, in his ire, he ordered the Metropolitan chair to be removed out of the Cathedral. These incidents, trifling as they may appear, I regard as favourable symptoms of the Aboona's sentiments towards us, and I am persuaded that if any contingency arises, this dreaded Primate will extend the ægis of his spiritual authority over our mission. I wrote to him a few days ago, and, if he requests it, unwilling as I may feel, I shall be obliged to perform the long and dangerous pilgrimage to Magdala." &c., &c.—*Jewish Intelligence*, November 1863.

E.

PAGES 49, 50, 51, 58.

The following extracts from Mr. Stern's last letter, dated "August 9, 1865," explain certain statements made in the one quoted in the lecture:—

"Early on the morning of the 4th, intelligence reached us that the king was angry with Mons. Bardel, and accused him of being the author of the rupture between him and the Europeans. A young lad in the service of Mr. Flad, and who had picked up a tolerable knowledge of the German language, a little later, stealthily crept into our tent bearing the same tidings, with the addition that we should soon be freed and Mons. Bardel chained. About noon the report

received its verification, and Mons. Bardel, conducted by a detachment of troops, was actually led into our tent, there to await his royal master's pleasure. Discussion and inquiry were at their height, when a most formidable and imposing deputation from the king made their appearance. On former occasions Jacques Obey, Samuel, or an officer of the household, formed the medium of communication between the king and his white prisoners, but in the present instance, to give *eclat* to the message, greater etiquette was observed. Among the crowd which constituted the delegates, was our old acquaintance Zoudee, Jaques Obey, Madrigal (formerly a pupil in the Malta Protestant College) and a host of high functionaries and attendants. Jaques Obey, after making a scrutinizing survey to see that all the prisoners, in deference to royalty, had girded their shamas around the waist, in a calm and deliberate tone said, "Mons. Bardel, Janehoi (the king) is angry with you because you have misrepresented the prisoners and caused him to chain them. You have also spoken ill of the Negoos himself; and you have further, by unfounded assertions, tried to sow distrust and suspicion in his heart against your countrymen at Gaffat." Madrigal, for the benefit of all, translated every word into French, and the accused, without denying or admitting the charges, simply replied, "How, how!" . . . On the 29th of February, the king requested me, through Samuel, to show him a certain passage of Scripture. Samuel was exceedingly affable—a symptom by which we obtained a cue to the royal sentiments towards us. Our speculations that matters were again more promising were not unfounded, for in the afternoon the royal favourite came back and released Rosenthal from his shackles, who now, together with his wife and babe, was permitted to enjoy the luxury of an unguarded tent; whilst to us he held out the prospect of a speedy, happy change, from prison to liberty. I had lost all confidence in

his assertions ; nay, invariably suspected when he promised us freedom (a fact now incontestibly ascertained) he toiled to effect our destruction and death. A few weeks before Easter, his Majesty, one noon, requested that I should prove to him from the Bible, that fasting was not a divine injunction, nor necessary to salvation. I readily obeyed the mandate, and message after message was carried in rapid succession from the white men's prison to the royal pavilion. Not to prolong the discussion, which on the part of his Majesty and court had degenerated into a challenge, I briefly observed, that fasting, as a help to piety and devotion, was in harmony with the practice of the Apostles ; but such fasts, I added, were different, nay, opposed to those enforced by the Church, and designed to effect a compromise between sin and good works, as was evident from Isaiah lviii. This chapter his Majesty applied as a censure on his own actions, and I might have had to pay dearly for my temerity, had not at the very moment when a loud and ominous cry re-echoed by scores of voices, "bring Cocab" (i. e. myself), a counter order of "tou" stop, arrested the dangerous command. This discussion, which might have sadly terminated, had not an invisible power restrained the ire of the King, created, as we were told, a variety of speculations in the army, and it is very likely that the anticipations of an abridgement of Lent would not have been disappointed, had not the Prophet Isaiah too unsparingly denounced injustice and oppression On the 12th of May, a day, which like one or more will never be obliterated from my memory, his Majesty had a boisterous public interview with the "Aboona" Primate. Epithets, neither dignified nor apostolic, were most profusely interchanged between the head of the State and the Ruler of the Church. Once I audibly heard my name,

and two of my fellow-prisoners understood that it was coupled with the concealment of a curtain and taking of notes. Like a flash of lightening, it struck me that it must refer to a certain morning when Captain Cameron and myself arranged some money matters with the Bishop, which malicious tongues in this country of inquisitorial espionage, had viciously distorted into an unlawful secret communication. The altercation which was occasionally very loud, and then again more subdued, lasted about an hour; and from the deep silence which pervaded, it was evident that the army did not approve of the quarrel. His Majesty, weary with the contest, abruptly mounted his horse, and followed by a vast concourse dashed furiously across the plain. Conjecture was now rife among us about the probable issue of the dispute, in which one, if not more of us, were certainly involved. We were not long permitted to indulge in these gloomy musings; the tramp of feet, the drum of numerous voices and the tinkling of Church umbrellas, announced the approach of an extraordinary procession. Suddenly there was a rush of slaves through the palisaded doorway which led from the camping ground of royalty to our prison, and then followed a mass of turbaned priests, proud chieftains, and high state functionaries. The Primate, clad in his simple Egyptian garb with a black silk scarf negligently thrown over his head and face, led the van. There was a boisterous call for "Cocab" and the "Frenchush." Precipitately we rushed out of our tent, and in a most deferential attitude confronted this formidable array of Church and state dignitaries. The royal notary, a tall, sleek personage, now opened a small parcel, and taking out a portfolio that once belonged to me, he thrust his unwashed fingers into a packet of greasy papers, and took out the document that contained the charges, garbled from my pilfered notes, and

the letter of Mr. Rosenthal. These were then read, after which Samuel, in a bland, persuasive strain, more entreated than commanded that we should state the parties who had been our informants. Rosenthal, who as Samuel well knew, had no communication with the Bishop, in a few brief sentences satisfied the inquisitor. Samuel now turned his villanous countenance full upon me, and requested that I should state the sources from whence I had obtained the statements embodied in the books and papers found in my possession. Fully aware from the character of the king, that the examination was a serious business, I turned to Mons. Bardel, and enquired whether he objected if I denied the correctness of the translations. Mons. Bardel rejoined, 'No, for I only read the English; Berrow, Samuel, and the "debterahs," scribes, are responsible for the Amharic.' Relieved from the apprehension of implicating any other human being, and particularly a fellow-prisoner, in troubles of no ordinary gravity, I turned to Samuel, and in unsparing expressions deprecated the malice of those who, without any provocation, had sought my destruction by attributing to me language not to be found in my papers. Then addressing the whole assembly, I said, 'What offence have I committed? That I said the king had pillaged certain provinces was no libel, for I saw it myself. That I stated a number of people had been executed at 'Dubark,' the skulls scattered about the plain attest the fact. That I was misinformed about his Majesty's descent, I must blame the late Mr. Bell, and the Negroes' own speech at the capture of a chief, recorded in the history of his accession to the throne, and at present in the possession of the king himself. That I was not impelled by any ill-feeling towards the Negroes, my book incontestibly proves; nay, the very mistake about his origin was an honour in Europe, since beyond the great waters, not a man's glorious ancestry, but his own deeds, shed lustre

around his name. 'The Bishop,' I continued, raising my dexter hand, 'I honour as a friend, and were he even my enemy, neither diversity in our religious sentiments, nor the dread of danger, nor the hope of favour, should make me swerve from the truth.' Samuel now interposed, and hypocritically remarked, 'We do not wish that you should utter a falsehood, nor does anyone feel disposed to contradict your assertion, that you had no design to misrepresent the origin of the Negroes, but there are different ideas in Europe, America, and Asia; and this,' he added emphatically, as if anxious by a biting sarcasm, to vent his stifling rage, 'this you know, is Africa.' The Bishop, who during the whole of that time sat like an unconcerned spectator on the bare ground, now started up, and casting an oblique glance of sympathy towards his white friends, poured forth a torrent of abuse on the king and the whole army of sycophants who swarm around the throne.

"'Guards, receive your prisoners!' now shouted Samuel, and immediately we were driven into the tent, whilst the Primate and his cortége retraced their steps through the fence by which they had entered.

"The exciting conference acted like a tonic upon my weak, and by sickness, enfeebled frame, and without troubling myself about probability, I said, in a cheerful tone to my fellow-prisoners, 'I have hardly eluded the shafts of the Angel of Death, when I must prepare for foot-chains!' No one, I believe, except myself, had any idea that a serious trial was impending over us. About sunset, his Majesty came galloping over the plain, and bounding up to his pavilion; he had not yet alighted when Mons. Bardel, who was standing outside the tent, hurried quickly in, exclaiming, 'the king is coming!' Bustle and confusion for a moment prevailed, and then all was drowned in the shout, 'Cocab, Frenchush!' The indignant and vengeance-breathing

accents of the King thrilled through my very soul like the knell of all my hopes. ‘Dog, Falasha, scoundrel, tell me the name of the man who reviled my ancestors, or I’ll tear the secret from your “tailanya,” stout heart!’ vociferated the enraged Theodoros. I attempted to reiterate what I had said to the delegates in the afternoon, but ere I could finish a sentence, I was blinded with buffets, whilst at the same time several fellows seized me by the hand and began to twist around my arms hard, coarse ropes, formed of the fibres of the Doloussa tree. Rosenthal, simultaneously with myself, experienced a similar treatment. His poor wife, thinking that our last moments had come, distractedly ran into the arms of Captain Cameron. The latter, who also believed that all were about to be butchered, called out to me, ‘Stern, we shall soon be in heaven!’ This the Negoos interpreted into exhortation that I should not compromise the Prelate, and instantly Mrs. Rosenthal, under a shower of blows, was driven with her babe into our tent and then into her own, whilst the Consul and all the other prisoners, with the exception of Mr. Kerans, who was suffering from an infectious disease, were thrown on the ground and pinioned.

“Generally, criminals under torture are only tied around the upper parts of the arm, but the white miscreants were, deemed unworthy of such leniency. From the shoulder down to the wrists the cords were fiendishly tight, rolled around the unresisting limb. This being still regarded as insufficient, the swollen, throbbing hands were bound together behind the back, and then other ropes were fastened across the chest, and that, too, with a force that caused the miserable sufferers to agonize for breath. Writhing and quivering in every nerve, we lay in contortious heavings on the hard, bare ground. Some prayed—others groaned—there, one in excruciating torments, capered about; there

another in desperate frenzy, knocked his reclining head on a loose stone, as if determined to end by suicide his career of suffering. His Majesty immediately on the application of the ropes, quitted the spot and repaired to his tent. Samuel, his head concealed under a black hood, every few minutes made his appearance and enquired whether I would confess, and on not receiving a satisfactory reply, whispered to the guards, 'give him another rope round the chest.' Three times he repeated his visits, and three times a couple of soldiers jumped on me, and with ardent delight, as if they felt pleasure in torturing a white man, executed the royal behest. To contract the dry ropes the black fiends now and then poured a profusion of cold water down our insensible backs. 'Speak,' once more repeated the muffled royal messenger, a command which Captain Cameron seconded by shouting, 'Stern, Stern, say what you know!'

"The agonizing torture had now lasted about three-quarters of an hour, and still there was no sign that the tyrant would relent in his cruelty. Physically and mentally prostrated, the hand of faith, in the birth hours of eternity, held confidently on the eternal rock, and prayerfully sighed for release from these earthly pangs and woes. The Negroes probably suspecting that we should succumb beneath a protracted torture, and so elude the clutches of further revenge, now ordered the ropes to be removed. Promptly a score of blacks were bending over us and unfastening the cords. This process caused excruciating pains, for the ropes rebounding from the stiff marble limbs, tore away skin and flesh in broad gory shreds.

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A harrassing and anxious night was followed by a cheerless and desponding morning. Nervously we anticipated some new harrowing message from the king, but to our delight he rode out, and the forenoon wore away in silence and stoical

apathy. Towards noon the chief of our guards came into our prison, and after some desultory remarks urged me to satisfy his Majesty. 'Tell those who sent you,' I returned, 'That I have spoken the truth, and if the king does not believe me, I can swear on this book, the Bible, which I raised aloft with my palsied and swollen hand—that the Bishop never spoke to me on the topic he wishes me to charge upon him.' 'Well,' was the laconic retort, 'you will all get ropes again, and that, too, much severer than last night.' Uncertain about our fate, moments, minutes, and hours passed away in torturing suspense. Near evening Samuel, that messenger of evil, again obtruded his hated person upon us. He crouched down near Captain Cameron, and with the utmost assiduity, tended his wounds. His affability and condescension emboldened me to ask him why the Negoos, after granting me a free pardon, again revived the old affair. A withering scowl gathered over his brow at these words, and as if panting for breath he glared at me a few seconds, and then poured forth a volley of frightful abuse. 'Dog,' 'Falasha,' 'rascal,' &c., 'how dare you criticize the king's actions, and obstinately defy his authority? Look here and behold the sufferings you have inflicted on your brethren. This is poor Mons. Bardel, and do you know who lies here? pointing to the Consul. This is Victoria!' Shattered and prostrate as I was, my whole frame shook and trembled at this unmerited rebuke. Samuel I think noticed this, and bending down to me, whispered confidentially, 'Come out, I want to speak to you.' Once in the open air, the raging courtier subsided into the smooth flattering knave. Placing his hand affectionately on my aching shoulder, he said, 'Don't think that I am angry with you; on the contrary, I admire you; but what possesses you that for the sake of the Bishop, who is neither your countryman nor of your belief, you incur the wrath of the king, and

expose your person to suffering. He is my Aboona (he forgot that he had often told me he was a Protestant) but you are my friend; and I don't care what happens to him, if you only, (whose money I have eaten,) by obliging the Negroes, win honour and favors.' I shook my head, and the foiled inquisitor hastened away muttering no very charitable benison on my devoted head. The shades of night had by this time gathered dark and thick around us. The guards took their station, and the white prisoners, after committing themselves to the guardian care of a Divine Protector, composed themselves to uneasy slumbers. The sudden whisper of voices and the sound of approaching steps, made us start from our leather skins. 'Cocab!' 'Rosenthal!' 'Makerer!' roared several voices at once. Leaping mechanically on our feet, we were in an instant out of the tent. Several dark figures in a trice encompassed me, and with ruthless fury dashed their horny hands in my eyes and face. Blow after blow in quick succession descended stunningly upon me, whilst at the same time the ropes were rapidly rolled around my wounded and lacerated arms. 'Tie his legs, too, if he does not confess,' rung in deep but distinct accents from the royal pavilion, and was re-echoed from three other lungs who stood in measured distances to send back my reply. My eyes, dimmed by buffets, started almost out of their sockets, my veins began to swell, my nerves throbbed as if they would burst, and my heart, compressed by the inhuman tightness of the ropes, almost stopped its pulsations. Despairingly I raised my inflamed eyes towards heaven, and prayed that the bitter cup might either pass away from me, or if I was to drain it to the dregs, that the agony might not be protracted. My head now became dizzy, the cold perspiration coursed down my quivering frame, I felt confused, giddy, and mad. 'Samuel, Samuel!' I shrieked in phrenzied agony; 'What do you want, what do you want?'

'Tell the Negroes all you have been told by the Aboona,' was his calm response. 'Oh! my God! my God!' I mentally ejaculated, have I still longer to endure this wasting martyrdom; and seized by a fit of delirium, I vociferated in a hoarse, suffocating voice, 'Yes, the Aboóna has often told me that the king was more dreaded, and possessed more power than any of the former sovereigns of Ethiopia; but that his ambition and cruelty ruined and depopulated the country.' 'Untie the ropes,' reverberated far above the cooling breeze, as it swept in refreshing gusts over the torn and bleeding limbs of the sufferer; 'untie the ropes and ask him if he is not a merchant of insects.' I hesitated to affirm this palpable falsehood, but Samuel with clenched teeth muttered, 'Dog, do you want a fresh trial of the ropes.' Again roared in succession the invisible voice, accompanied by a slap in my face from the chief jailor, ask him whether the ladies in England do not eat rats and mice.' Promptly my interrogator, who evidently now pitied me, responded 'yes!' Ask him whether the Queen of England does not sell thread, needles and tobacco at Massowah?"

F.

PAGES 59, 60, 63.

Lest it should be thought that the Lecturer discoursed at random, he appends here the very dispatch in all its integrity, with the simple addition of numbering its paragraphs, as it appeared in the *London Gazette*, on October 31, 1865.

"Foreign Office, October 5, 1865.

1. "Sir,—Although it is too late to give you any direc-

tions for the guidance of Mr. Rassam beyond those which I have already transmitted by telegraph, it may be useful, in order to prevent misconceptions, that I should enable you to state upon any proper occasion what has been and is the policy of the British Government regarding Abyssinia.

2. "It should be borne in mind that Abyssinia is composed of several distinct provinces, some of which are separated from each other by lofty mountains and by rivers which are impassable during a portion of the year.

3. "Hence these different provinces have often been ruled by separate princes or chiefs (Dedjatch), independent of each other.

4. "In 1841, Captain Harris was sent from Bombay to the king of Shoa, with whom he concluded a treaty of friendship and commerce, on the 16th November, 1841.

5. "In the same year, the ruler of Tigrè, Ras Oobeay, or Ubie, called Ras of Abyssinia, sent Mr. Coffin, an English traveller, with a letter and presents for her Majesty.

6. "On Mr. Coffin's arrival at Cario, he was informed, through Colonel Barnett, in December, 1841, by direction of Lord Aberdeen, that he need not proceed further on his journey to England, and that he might deliver to Colonel Barnett any letter with which he was charged.

7. "Mr. Coffin accordingly delivered the letter from Ras Ubie (together with presents) to Colonel Barnett, who sent the letter to England, but it cannot be ascertained whether the presents were also sent, the only allusion to them being found in a dispatch from Colonel Barnett, dated Sept. 19, 1841, in which he says they were still with Mr. Coffin, at Cario.

8. "No reply, however, was returned to this letter, and Ras Ubie was thereupon so angry, that he threatened violence to Mr. Coffin for not bringing him a return present from the Queen.

9. "In January, 1848, Lord Palmerston, with a view to establish commercial relations with Abyssinia, appointed Mr. Plowden, Consul for that country, and directed him to reside at Massowah.

10. "Mr. Plowden was informed, in his letter of appointment, that he was sent to Massowah for the protection of British trade with Abyssinia and the countries adjacent thereto.

11. "Consul Plowden proceeded to Gondar and concluded a treaty of friendship and commerce with Ras Ali, on the 2nd November, 1849.

12. "By this treaty it was provided, that his Majesty of Abyssinia would receive an Ambassador from her Britannic Majesty, and 'her Britannic Majesty would, in the same manner, receive and protect any Ambassador, Envoy, or Consul, whom his Majesty of Abyssinia, or his successors, might see fit to appoint.'

13. "But in 1854, Ras Ali was overthrown by one of his sons-in-law, who induced the Coptic Bishop to crown him Emperor of Abyssinia.* This person was the present Emperor Theodoros, who, so far from insisting on the observance of the treaty of 1849, refused altogether to recognize that treaty.

14. "Consul Plowden was told by the British Government in 1857, that the Emperor was bound in good faith to recognize that treaty, and that if he objected to any of its provisions he should propose modifications.

15. "But from the triumph of the Emperor Theodoros in 1856, to the present day, the treaty has been a dead letter.

*Earl Russell is somewhat inaccurate here. The present Emperor of Abyssinia did not assume imperial dignity after he had defeated his father-in-law, or rather his base and vile mother-in-law, (see pp. 30, 31), in whose hands her weak imbecile son, Ras Ali, was a mere puppet. But he got himself crowned Emperor after he had defeated Oobey, the Ras of Tigre, and that was on the 12th February, 1856, and not in 1854. (See pp. 33, 34.)

16. "It may be argued that the British Government ought to have insisted on the validity of the treaty on the one hand, and to have protected the Emperor of Abyssinia from the Turks on the other.

17. "But considering the short tenure of power in the Abyssinian kings, whatever be their title, the difficulty of reaching with a regular British force their seats of Empire, the little value of a victory gained at Gondar and Shoa, the risk of failure and the certainty of expense, it has seemed to the British government a preferable course to withdraw, as much as possible, from Abyssinian engagements, Abyssinian alliances, and British interference in Abyssinia.

18. "This course, however, has not been taken without giving rise to groundless reproaches, many unfounded allegations, and some embarrassing and painful occurrences.

Of the former class is the following bold assertion, namely:—

19. "'There is reason for believing that the Emperor Theodoros holds Captain Cameron as a hostage for the recognition by England, already made in 1849, of the independence of Abyssinia, for the suppression of Egyptian aggressions along the frontier, and for the restitution of the Church and Convent at Jerusalem, torn from him and his people by the Copts, Armenians, and Turks.'

20. "Now with respect to the recognition of the independence of Abyssinia in 1849, it has been seen that it was England that asked for the recognition of the treaty of 1849, and the Emperor Theodoros who refused it. But the recognition of the independence of Abyssinia has never been withdrawn by England.

21. "As to the suppression of Egyptian aggressions along the frontier, England has from time to time used her influence to prevent such aggressions, but will not consent to guarantee the integrity of the Abyssinian territory.

22. "Such a guarantee would be, in the opinion of her Majesty's government, an unwise engagement—impracticable in execution.

23. "The restitution of the Church and Convent at Jerusalem is a matter which requires some further explanation.

24. "Any one who follows with attention the proceedings of the Turkish government in the various provinces under its direct rule, must be aware that the Christian sects, subjects of the Ottoman Porte, frequently persecute one another, and the Sultan is often appealed to rescue individuals and communities from the maltreatment or cruelty of their fellow-christians.

25. "Her Majesty's ambassador at the Sublime Porte uses his good offices on such occasions, and generally with success.

26. "In July, 1852, Lord Malmesbury was appealed to by Bishop Gobat, at Jerusalem, in behalf of Ras Ali and Dedjatch Oubee, who had adopted at a Meeting at Gondar a resolution to the effect:—

27. "'That her Majesty should be requested to authorise you (the bishop) to protect and superintend their countrymen visiting or residing in Jerusalem, and to authorise the British agent residing in Jerusalem to lend you (the bishop) his assistance for that purpose when required.' Lord Malmesbury's answer to this request was very clear and decisive.

28. "'I have to state to you in reply, that her Majesty's government cannot undertake to protect officially the natives of Abyssinia who may chance to be resident in the territory of the Sublime Porte. But her Majesty's Consul at Jerusalem will be instructed to use his good offices for them, in case of need, as members of a Christian Church in spiritual communion with the established Church in this country.'

29. "You will see that the Earl of Malmesbury distinctly refused 'to protect officially the natives of Abyssinia who may chance to be residing in the territory of the Sublime Porte.'

30. "You will observe also that the good offices to be employed in their favour were intended for the benefit of those 'who might chance to be residing in the territory of the Sublime Porte.' Thus a distinction was made between those who might resort occasionally or casually to Jerusalem and the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Abyssinian origin, who might be accounted Turkish subjects.

31. "Thus limited, both as to the extent of the protection to be afforded and as to the classes of persons on whose behalf good offices were to be exercised, the instruction of the Earl of Malmesbury must be allowed to have been proper and judicious. Accordingly I referred Consul Finn, on May 29, 1862, to those instructions of 1852, observing,

32. "'I have nothing to add to those instructions, except to enjoin you to act upon them with caution and prudence.' Those instructions remain still in force.*

* "A correspondent points out a discrepancy in Lord Russell's remarks on the question of the Abyssinians in Jerusalem, contained in his last despatch. Earl Russell states in one place, that the recognition of the independence of Abyssinia (acknowledged by the treaty of 1849), has never been withdrawn; and in another place he speaks of the Abyssinians in Jerusalem as Turkish subjects. 'This,' says our correspondent, 'is the whole point in dispute.' The Turkish Government assert that Abyssinia has been conquered by them, and claim as their subjects every Abyssinian, whether in Jerusalem or out of it. The Abyssinians deny this, and assert their independence, and the right of their countrymen residing in Jerusalem to be regarded as foreigners, living their of their own free will and entitled to protection from any foreign Consul of their own choosing. If they had a Consul of their own, he would, of course, be answerable for their safety; as they have none, they put themselves under the temporary protection of the English representative, relying upon Lord Malmesbury's promise of his good offices in their behalf. The Abyssinians of Jerusalem are all of one class,—pilgrims to the holy places,—and no distinction can be drawn between one set and another. It appears, however, that Consul Moore has denied them even such aid as might have been afforded by his good offices, and insisted upon regarding them as Turkish subjects. The Abyssinians were thus robbed of all they possessed in Jerusalem, and

33. "Coming now to the imprisonment of Consul Cameron, it appears from the papers presented to Parliament that after he had conveyed my letter, written by order of the Queen, and some few presents to the king of Abyssinia, he went to the country of Bogos, where he employed himself in reconciling some rival chiefs, sending on the Emperor's letter to the Queen to Massowah by the Abyssinian messenger.

34. "It appears, further, that the chief cause of the Emperor's anger with Consul Cameron was this journey to Bogos, coupled with the Emperor's suspicion that Consul Cameron had intrigued to set the Turks and Egyptians of the frontier against him, and aggravated in some degree by the return of Consul Cameron to Gondar without any answer to the Emperor's letter to the Queen.

35. "It appears from king Theodoros' letter to Mr. Rassam, sent home by that gentleman in his letter of the 5th of September, that the king alleges that Captain Cameron 'abused and denounced him as a murderer,' in consequence of the vengeance which he took on the persons who killed Consul Plowden and Mr. Bell, and that when he had treated him well and asked him to make him (the king) a friend of the Queen, Captain Cameron 'went and stayed some time with the Turks, and returned to me (the king);' and further, that when the king spoke to Captain Cameron about the letter sent by him to the Queen, he said he had not received any intelligence concerning it.

36. "There is no reason to suppose that Consul Cameron incited the Egyptian forces on the frontier to commit aggressions on the territory of Abyssinia. It is far more probable that the enemies of the British name in Abyssinia should

driven from the city. This course of action on the part of Consul Moore, was in direct opposition to the conduct of his predecessor, Mr. Finn, and is notoriously attributed in Jerusalem to Turkish influence."—**PALL MALL GAZETTE.**

have infused unjust suspicions into the mind of the Emperor. But certainly Captain Cameron, in going to Bogos, acted without orders, and incurred the displeasure of his own government.

37. "It is now to be hoped that Mr. Rassam's explanation will procure for Captain Cameron permission to leave Abyssinia. He will be employed hereafter in a different part of the world, and will never have occasion to return to Abyssinia.

38. "I have thus explained to you that the policy of the British government has been founded entirely on the desire to promote trade and intercourse with Abyssinia.

39. "I am well aware that there are persons who wish her Majesty's government to interfere in behalf of Abyssinia, as a Christian country against Turkey and Egypt, as Mahomedan countries.

40. "But this policy has never been adopted by the British government, and, I trust, never will be.

41. "If we were to make ourselves the protectors of the Emperor Theodoros against the Sultan and his Viceroy of Egypt, we should become responsible for his acts, and be entangled in his quarrels with all his neighbours and rivals.

42. "The obligations of the British government are various enough, and heavy enough, without undertaking so costly, hazardous, and unprofitable a protectorate.

"I am, &c.,

(Signed)

"RUSSELL."

When the foregoing dispatch was published, every daily Journal made such comments upon it, as accorded with the peculiar politics which their *leaders* espoused. Dr. Beke felt aggrieved at the remarks in the *Times* newspaper, and wrote to the *Editor*, a rejoinder; but whether from want of space,

or lack of something else, the Doctor's letter was left unnoticed. I am permitted to subjoin it here.

"To the Editor of the Times.

"Sir,—Notwithstanding the many urgent claims on my time and attention at this the eve of my departure for Abyssinia, I feel myself called on, before quitting England, to make a few remarks on Earl Russell's dispatch to Colonel Stanton, her Majesty's Agent and Consul General in Egypt, copied in your impression of the 1st inst. from the *London Gazette* of the previous evening. I need no apology for doing so, because (as you justly observe) that dispatch is in effect a reply to my letter inserted in your journal on the 14th September.

"From the tenour of Earl Russell's dispatch, persons unacquainted with the circumstances might be led to suppose that Consul Cameron was the only captive, and that he had been imprisoned by the king, principally if not entirely, for having 'abused and denounced him as a murderer.' The fact is however that not only Consul Cameron, but all British subjects in Abyssinia, and all persons of other nations connected with British Missionary Societies—men, women, and children, being seventeen souls in all—are 'State-prisoners, and will probably remain such until the political differences between England and the king of Abyssinia come to a satisfactory conclusion.' I quote these words from Mr. Steiger's letter dated Gaffat, December, 1864, referred to in my communication above-mentioned.

"As a full list of these State-prisoners has never yet been laid before the public, I will now give it as follows :

"*At Magdala.* Consul Cameron, Messrs. Stern, Rosenthal, Kerans, McKilnie, Makerer and Pietro; all in chains, Stern and Rosenthal since September, 1863, and the rest since January, 1864. Mrs. Rosenthal (*née* Young) and child, not in chains.

"*At Gaffat.* Messrs. Flad, Steiger, Brandeis, Schiller, and another whose name I do not know, Mrs. Flad and two children. None of these are in chains or compelled to work; but as is stated in Mr. Steiger's letters, the members of the Scottish Mission were for a time 'bound in chains.'

"As regards several of these persons—young Mr. Kerans for instance (a son of Dr. Kerans, of Atrascragh, county Galway) and his servant McKilnie, as also the Scottish Missionaries—there is not the slightest ground for imagining them to have offended the king in any manner; and even Consul Cameron has more than once stated in communications to his family, that the king is 'a good fellow,' and has no complaint whatever against him personally.

"If then the fact be as asserted by Earl Russell (and it is not to be questioned) that the letter from the king to Mr. Rassam, sent home by that gentleman in his letter of September 5th, contains the allegation that Captain Cameron was imprisoned by the king because he had abused and denounced him as a murderer, it follows that Consul Cameron has stated either a direct falsehood (which those who know him could not believe); or else the letter said to have been sent by the king—which it must be borne in mind, bears neither his signature nor his seal—is not authentic. There is the greater reason for doubting the genuineness of that letter; because the explanation of the false telegram, repeated in the *Times* of October 14th by me, which was to the effect that Captain Cameron's chains had been taken off in the presence of Mr. Rassam's messengers merely to be replaced as soon as their backs were turned—would appear to be in like manner a fabrication. For, in the letters to the respective families of Mr. Stern, Mr. and Mrs. Rosenthal, Mr. Kerans, and even Consul Cameron himself, there is not a single word to countenance the idea of an event which, had it really occurred, was of so extraordinary a nature and such

a change in the dreary monotony of their prison life, that it could not have failed to be noticed by some one or other of them.

"In some of those letters, written about the 13th or 14th of July last, the opinion was expressed, that if Mr. Rassam came up at once to the king, all might be well; but that if he delayed his arrival, the white prisoners ran the risk of suffering the death inflicted on their Galla companions in captivity. This frightful intelligence, coupled with the delay which had taken place in Mr. Rassam's journey—for it was only on October 5th that he left Aden for Massowah, whence he was to go round to Gondar, by the way of Bogos, Taka, and Kalabat—superadded to the charges so wrongly brought against poor Consul Cameron, has, I fear, operated fatally on his aged mother. I have now before me a letter from his daughter, dated October 31st, in which she writes, 'I regret to say my mother is dangerously ill. The constant anxiety and sorrow which my poor brother's long captivity has caused, have at last proved too much for her, and we have scarcely any hope of her recovery.'

"Into the question of the Abyssinian Convent at Jerusalem, and the Abyssinian pilgrims, I will not enter further than to remark, that Earl Russell merely alluded to his having referred Consul Finn, on May 22nd, 1862, to the Earl of Malmesbury's instructions of 1852; whereas the occurrences alluded to by Mr. Steiger were of later date, when the Consul at Jerusalem was Mr. Noel Moore, whose conduct it was that 'surprised and irritated the king the more, as Mr. Finn, the former English Consul, had previously assured him that he was commissioned by his government to protect the Abyssinians.'

"The next subject that has to be noticed in Consul Cameron's visit to Bogos is that in which Earl Russell says he certainly acted without orders, and incurred the dis-

pleasure of his own government? But that 'displeasure was not for having 'incited the Egyptian forces on the frontier to commit aggressions on the territory of Abyssinia,' but directly the reverse. For the ground of complaint of the government of Ismail Pasha against him was that he had incited the Abyssinians to commit aggressions on what the Egyptians choose to call their territory, although the Great Powers of Europe had in 1854 declared that it was not so.

"This fact, as I have already shown in my phamplet *the British Captives in Abyssinia*, was at the time notorious in Egypt, and it is not to be gainsaid. Among the papers moved for by Lord Chelmsford in the last Session of Parliament, was a 'copy of the Report made from Bogos in, or about, March, 1863, and of the Orders in consequence of such Report sent to him by the Consul General in Egypt or from the Foreign Office.' To this no return was made by government. But had those documents been produced they would have shown that Consul Cameron's conduct on that occasion was strictly in accordance with the precedent of his predecessor Consul Plowden, in 1854; and that although he may nevertheless have incurred the displeasure of his own government, his conduct could not but have been most gratifying to the Emperor Theodoros, and the Abyssinians in whose interest he acted.

"From the summary manner in which the treaty of 1849 and the subsequent proceedings are alluded to by Earl Russell, it might be imagined that nothing whatever occurred after Consul Plowden had been told by the British government in 1857, that the Emperor was bound in good faith to recognize that treaty, and that if he objected to any of its provisions he should propose modifications. But this is precisely what the Emperor did. Negotiations between him the British government were carried on through Consul Plowden, until the latter's death, in 1860. The matter was

then taken up by Mr. Bell, who, when Mr. Stern was leaving Abyssinia after his first visit to that country, told him he would soon meet him again in London, as he was on the point of accompanying an Abyssinian Embassy to England, the expense of which was to be defrayed by the British nation. This is what is alluded to by Mr. Purday (Mr. Stern's father-in-law) in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of July 5th last :—'It may come out that Consul Cameron had express instructions not only to encourage the king to send an Embassy to England, but that the English government offered to pay the expenses of that Embassy.'

"Before Mr. Stern set out on his second visit to Abyssinia, I heard that he was detained in England till Consul Cameron should arrive from the Black Sea, in order that they might discuss together the subject of the contemplated Embassy from Abyssinia; and I was also told that the sum of £16000 for the expenses of the same had been included in the estimates.

"With these facts before us, we may now understand the meaning of the passage quoted by Mr. Layard (as reported in the *Times* of July 1st) from Consul Cameron's dispatch, written on his first arrival in Abyssinia and before he had seen the king :—'I wrote immediately (to the king), stating that I was deputed to present him with certain gifts and a letter of introduction; also to discuss with him regarding the future. That when Mr. Plowden was killed, there were two points under discussion :—1. a Treaty; 2. the sending an Embassy to England. I offered to take these up where 'Mr. Plowden had left them.'"

Had I time I should have liked to follow Consul Cameron's subsequent proceedings, as they relate to matters of great importance. Perhaps at some future period I shall have an opportunity of returning to the subject. At all events I trust I have said sufficient to prove the substantial correct-

ness of the several statements made in my communication of September 14th.

"I only regret that I should have been under the necessity of making these remarks; but it was impossible for me to leave England with the accusation hanging over my head of having made groundless reproaches and unfounded allegations.

"In all that I have ever done or written as well as in the journey I am now undertaking, nothing has been further from my intention than to counteract the operations of her Majesty's government or their Agents, or in any manner to interfere with them. I am now proceeding to Abyssinia as a private traveller, not connected with or supported by the Government or by any of the Missionary Societies to which the captive Missionaries belong; my object being to supplicate the Emperor for mercy in the names of the relatives of the wretched prisoners; and I cannot but entertain a deeply rooted conviction that this my independent attempt to obtain their release by a process entirely different from that hitherto employed, has a reasonable prospect of success; and when it is considered that up to the present moment all that has been attempted diplomatically has proved fruitless, it may at least be that my undertaking will have the beneficial effect of aiding Mr. Rassam in bringing his labours to a satisfactory conclusion.

"I am, Sir,

"Your very obedient Servant,

"CHARLES BEKE."

"Beksbourne,

"November 3rd, 1865.

"P.S.—Since writing the above I have received the sad intelligence that Consul Cameron's mother breathed her last yesterday morning."

The reader has now before him—though in fragmentary and incoherent style—a comprehensive, an unvarnished, a disinterested and impartial statement of all the circumstances connected with the melancholy incarceration of the British captives in Abyssinia, and the causes of their protracted detention. Let us trust that either Mr. Rassam, or Dr. Beke, or both together, may be instrumental in bringing our Consul and our Missionaries safe, if not sound, back again to England; and that both the Church and the State will show becoming sympathy for the sufferings of their respective servants. Should an avoidance of the Jerusalem Bishopric occur, it is earnestly to be hoped that Mr. Stern may live to accept the offer of the honourable post, as successor to the late Bishop Alexander. It would be but a just recognition, on the part of the Church at home, of that faithful Missionary's services in Abyssinia, for the cause of his GREAT MASTER IN HEAVEN.

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